Justice upon the Armie

REMONSTRANCE.

OR

A rebuke of that evill spirit that leads them in their Counsels and Actions.

With

A Discovery of the contrariety and enmity in their waies, to the good spirit and minde of God.

Dedicated

To the Generall, and the Councel of War.

By William Sedgwick.

But they shall proceed no further, for their folly shall be manifest to all men. 2 *Tim.* 3.9.

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TO

His Excellency *Thomas Lord Fairfax*,

GENERALL

Of the Parliaments Forces,

AND

To the Generall Councell of Warre.

YOu *drive furiously* over the necks of King and Parliament, Lawes, Covenants, Loyalty, Priviledge, and no humane thing can ſtand before you: You are now fac'd by the majeſty and light of God, while you are aſleepe in a darke night of earthly affaires: You have appeald to God in your ſecond Declaration, but did not expect ſo ſuddaine an anſwer: Tis eternall and almighty truth that muſt and will prevaile; if you come into it, 'twill ſave you; if you turne from it, you forſake your *owne mercy*; if you oppoſe it, you daſh your ſelves in pieces; you cannot goe from it, or beſides it, but into the darkneſſe of hell: The Lord is here *upbraiding your unbeliefe, but mourning over his Jeruſalem*; with love to your perſons, but with fierce anger againſt your practiſes: I would you had thoſe lively and freſh evidences of your perſonall and everlaſting good in your owne breaſts, as I have; your eternall ſtate is ſure; tis your preſent wandrings that are

here condemned; *Blindneſſe hath happened to you in part*; and this is *the time of caſting you away*; you will have a time of *being received* againe; you are *now broken off through unbeliefe, you will be graffed in againe*: Tis your *fall* now, you ſhall have a *reſtoring*; you will wonder to behold ſo much *goodneſſe* to your enemies, and ſo much *ſeverity* to you. *Oh the depth of the riches both of the wiſedome and knowledge of God! How unſearchable are his judgements, and his waies paſt finding out!* I have *reproved* you *ſharply*, or *cuttingly*, its proper for you, *With vengeance to ſave you, and to pull you as firebrands out of the fire*; your condition requires it; Gentleneſſe is abuſd, mercy deſpiſd, you have a long time trampled upon kindneſſe, and obſtinately refuſed the word of the Lord: You muſt remember my Sermon to you at *Windſor* upon that Text. Overturne, overturne, overturne; is Scripture ſtill, and that word lives in and upon you. *Saltmarſh* his meſſage quickly followed it, *Depart from the tents of theſe unrighteous men*; he lives ſtill: And Mr *Pinnels* admonition from the Lord following that: Theſe, and other teſtimonies againſt you, have beene ſlighted and diſobeyed; your ſinnes grow greater, and the anger of God hotter againſt you; your reprieve is not your ſalvation; you are growne to a height of confidence and preſumption upon your ſucceſſes; *your necks are as iron, and your brows braſſe*; and you walke uncontroulable in your way, triumphing as the onely Princes in the earth, as fit to ſway the Scepter of *England*, and all nations; as the onely righteous, honourable people in the world; the great Lords of the Land: Therefore it pleaſes me to *powre contempt upon you*, to be ſhod with ſcorne and indignation, and *ſo trample upon Princes as morter*. Except I ſhould deale thus with you, you would not be ſenſible of what I ſay, being hardned againſt

mercy;

mercy; and having done all you have done against love; *Prosperity slayes fooles, and therefore the rod is fit for their backs.*

I know my dealing is just and righteous to such as you are, being (as *Phil.* 3. 18, 19.) *Enemies to the Crosse of Christ*; seeming friends to his Gospell, Ministry and Kingdome, but enemies to his *crosse*: You hate to thinke that those faire *beginnings* of your peace and deliverance, should come to end in shame and death; you cannot thinke of leaving your hopes of outward *glory*, and lying down quietly, to let the world trample upon you: This you count folly, *Whose end is destruction*: Destruction you practise, tis your worke, tis your end, you cannot see beyond it, and you are hastening to it, it is the center to which you tend; and therefore I cannot but shew it you, that you may stop your course before the *pit shut her mouth upon you: Whose God is their belly*; Your faith, understanding and God, is sunke into your bellies, and your rule, your strength, your confidence is onely in sensuall and brutish things; your raisd spirits into the *things of God* are buried in an inferior *region* of grosse, dull, carnall affaires, and except I should peirce deepe, your *slow bellies* would not finde eares: Indeed you are so lost and drownd in sensible things of the world, and so *eager* in *seeking* for those *things* your belly, your carnall affections require of you, that I doubt you will be deafe to what I say, *Whose glory is in their shame*; You are full of *glory* in your *great things*: that you have done; *wonderfull things, a mighty presence of God.* But, in summe, what is it? You have torne a poore, sinfull *Kingdome* in pieces; You have executed wrath upon your Brethren, Friends and Country-men; You have laid desolate your

Father the King, the Parliament your Mother, your owne Country; this is your glory to be executioners; *Assyria, the rod of my anger*: What a crowne is this? Have you restored, blessed, healed, comforted, saved any? No, you have but plunged the Kingdome and your selves into a pit of darknesse and confusion: When the things of God are proposd to you, to suffer for others, to love enemies, to doe good to all, to blesse all; *you glory in your shame*, and say, you *serve the Lord in this*, and there be *lower* as wel as higher dispensations: You are indeed servants of God, so was *Nebuchadnezzar*, so is the Devil, and you do the work of *God*, but tis base drudgery, tis *his strange worke*, to be instruments of his vengeance; and *tis a lower dispensation* indeed, to dispense curses, not blessings, to be *below* in hell, exercisd in the wrath of God, not above in heaven in the glory and love of God; and for sons, heires, so you would be thought, to take pleasure in such mean employment, is vile and unworthy: *Who minde earthly things*; this is another property of yours, your minds are now captiv'd to the earth, deepe in the lower parts of the earth, in the belly and foundations of the earth, pleading the earthly cause of earthly people, or digging caves and holes in the earth to secure an earthly peace to your selves.

Its high time to withstand you, and to *rebuke this destroying Angel*; for tis not men onely that suffer from your violence, but the Lord; your sword goes so deep, *That it peirces thorow his soule also*: You are gone so farre in *dissolving the foundations of government*, that you are come to him that upholds the *pillars of the earth*: You reach to the *head of principalities and powers*, to the Lord who is the author and upholder of all these things; he is in these poor, broken and despised Ordinances of his, and sensible of every blow that is given to them: *You have digged thorow the wall*

of

of flesh and men, and broke downe that *partition wall* that divided them from God; and now you are in the bowels of the Lord, these miserable, broken powers are now the Lord: Goe on to teare and rend, you *will at last looke upon him whom you have peirced, and mourne.*

The King and Parliament cry unto God in their distresse, saying, *Doubtlesse thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not, Thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer.* Though you in the greatnesse of your faith, and confidence in your priviledges, as high as *Abraham and Israel* in your literall forme, doe not know them, yet the Lord ownes them, and will heare their cry and deliver them.

Your proceedings are against the Lord; and though you say these things you do must be done till Christ come; and when he comes, then tis true, there will need none of these things to secure your selves, but as yet *you must act as men:* In this, you say, *your Lord delaies his coming*, and so *drunke* with your prosperity and victories, *you beate your fellow servants.*

But here you will finde your Lord in an *houre that you were not aware of*: You say he will come and destroy you and your waies in time, but he is already upon you, and your are not *aware* of it, *and cuts you asunder*; opens your inward parts, divides the secrets of your hearts, and *appoints you a portion with hypocrites and unbelievers, where is weeping and gnasking of teeth:* You act against God, and God against you; *Your soules loath him, his soule loaths you.*

Finally, Heres nothing written but what is written in your hearts; tis the opening your owne soules; tis but what you have feard, and that punishment which your owne humiliations and confessions have acknowledged just and due to you: Nothing but what I have suffered for acting

acting in those waies in which you are; *What measure hath been measured to me by God, that doe I measure to you:* And as I lay it on you, so I suffer it with you, and shall be content to suffer till you are restored from this condition of shame and wrath, to honour and love, and so dwell with you in these everlasting burnings, which will purify you from all your filth. Till then, Farewell.

I am

W. Sedgwick.

Justice

Justice upon the Armie Remonstrance.

THERE is, and alwaies hath been in all things in the world, some good, some evil, some light, some darknesse: And in this declining state of things, the world grows worse and worse, and they that act for it and in it, though under very specious pretences of Justice, are still more base and filthy then those that have gone before; every generation having a more evil and lesse good than their predecessours. I know there be many good men amongst you, and that you have since the wrack of the Kingdome born up gallantly, as if you would out-live the storme; That you have worne many favours of God, above, and against others; That you have own'd your selves to be the people of God, and God by many outward mercies hath own'd you: But in this work you manifestly shew, that you *have deeply revolted*; and that *after you had escaped the polutions of the world, you are again entangled therein, and overcome*; *And with the dog, returned to your own*, and others, *vomit*: to lick up the filth of the world, which others, having drunk the *Wine of the wrath of God*, have spued up; *You have been exalted unto heaven, and are brought down to hell*: You have back-slidden from a formal and carnal profession of the Kingdome of Christ living in God, &c. to embrace the tail of *this present evil world*, to petty, beggarly, unbelieving, malicious projects for self safety. And as you have left God, and waxed wanton upon his blessings, so hee now hath left you; *hath made your Table to become your snare*, fatted you up by former mercies, to receive your last and greatest judgements: What you had is taken from you, and your wisdome, majesty, largenesse and goodnesse, that hath sometimes appear'd in you in other things, is turn'd now into distracted slumbers, dark and sad dreams of ruine, into uncertain, loose, wandring fancies of your owne woefull condition, and absurd shadowes and vain imaginations of wayes of deliverance: Poore wretches! though angry at you, yet my soule

pities you, never were men caught in such a snare of the Devil as you are; glorying you are in your owne righteous cause, and confident of your innocency and successe; and indeed you are shut up in a pit of darknesse, and already lost in divine displeasure.

As there are good men amongst you, so there is, I confesse, some good lies scattered in this Remonstrance, *The Lord is in it; But as two legs, or a piece of an eare in the mouth of a Lion*, So torne in pieces, and almost devoured by that roaring Lion, that wrathful, cruel, malicious beast, the Devil, that if I should take paines to bring it forth to your view, it would most displease and offend you, you could not bear the sight of it, but would your selves hate it, therefore I will not lose my labour in it.

But the evil part is so grosse and visible, that I can with most ease deal with it, and for the present with most profit to you; And when that heap of dirt and folly is brought forth, and you made sensible of it, the good that now lies buried in it wil be released, and delight to come forth in you. It wil be the greatest mercy to the holy One in you, to give a severe sentence against that wicked part that at this time prevailes so much in you.

In dealing with this worke of yours I shal not trouble my selfe to follow you in all those crooked waies, confused and multiplied parenthesis, darke and vaine tautologies, in which you are lost and grope: But well knowing your principles upon which you goe, as I finde them expressing themselves, I shal shew you the evil and folly of them, and that with such plainnesse, as the wiser and soberer of you shal be convinced and brought forth, the rest condemned in themselves, and the world may run headlong to their destruction, and dash themselves in pieces against that rocke of justice that fals upon them.

In the first part of your preamble you tel us of your *tender regard to the priviledges and freedome of Parliament*, wherein you deal very deceitfully with the world, and conceale your owne principles; for upon this ground you know you act, that the powers of this world are to be broken in pieces; That the Parliament is one of the powers of the world, and that you are called to breake them in pieces: And therefore it becomes you (you know) to be steeld with stoutnesse and resolutions, to trample upon all authorities that stand up against that justice of God that acts you: The priviledge of Parliament is a poore, corrupted thing to that extraordinary presence of God that goes with you, and those high

undertakings

undertakings that you have in hand for the publique good, and the eternall salvation of the people: You should doe as you have done, breake through these spider-webs of priviledge and freedome of Parliament, and immediatly goe through all to that glorious worke of yours; and not suppresse your owne principles to court the world into a deceived opinion of tender regard to them, Indeed the priviledge and freedome of Parliament is gone and lost long agoe, and you doe but fancy one, for a new and true priviledge and freedome doth not yet appeare to you, neither can you owne them.

In the next part of your preamble you tell us the reasons of your present declaring your selves, because things are [*brought to the utmost crisis of danger*] Tis true this, but you make a very ill use of it: There is two in the Kingdome, the holy one our life, peace, union, agreement, &c. whom you have not seene yet: and a wicked one, which is wrath, malice, death, revenge, &c. These two are now conflicting together: The holy one would establish love, bearing one with another, forgiving one another, self-deniall, &c. The destroyer would continue mischiefs, warres, accusations, cruelties, &c. The contention growes sharpe, and the evill one making his utmost and last resistance.

Now we that see the power of truth and love, are at rest, being assured, that the righteous Lord is above all.

But here you come with your wofull fears, and say [*which calls upon every man to contribute what helpe he can*] Do you not know yet, *that vaine is the helpe of man*: You and all men come to offer helpe, but it is to a wicked world, to bring fuell to the fire of wrath; for warre, misery and destruction should cease raging, *Cease from man whose breath is in his nostrils*, a proud and empty thing; and cease you foolish men from blowing the coales of division amongst us; (*And seeing no effectuall help from elsewhere appear*) *your curse is not to see when good comes: We see salvation is nigh them that fear him, that glory may dwell in our land; God a present help in the time of trouble.* You are blind, and cannot see the Lord our effectuall Saviour: An enemy would make this sense of your words; War is your life, and seeing peace ready to come, and no effectuall help appears to lengthen our misery and destroy the Treaty, you will doe it.

And now you give us the ground of your undertaking this worke, (*Conscience, and duty to God and men obliges*) you sleightly passe over this which should be fully cleared; and the reason is, you

are not upon a ſound foundation; nor dare you come to a ſtrict examination of your owne ground, but are hurried on blindly, upon weake paſſions of feare, jealouſy, neceſſity, &c. without any ſound bottome. This likewiſe I obſerve from your words here, and from ſome conference with ſome of you, that you know not which of theſe two to take for your principle, God or man; but are in a luke-warme condition, neither hot nor cold; neither hot enough in the ſpirit of God, to doe all things in a divine way: nor ſo cold, as to ſubmit to the lawes of men. In diſcourſe with ſome of you againſt your proceedings, that they were contrary to the royall law, the Will and Way of our Father; Which is, *To doe good to them that hate us, and perſecute us; to forgive our enemies; to overcome evill with good; to conquer by ſuffering and love:* They have profeſſed, that in theſe things they act as men, in a civill reſpect; which in you that owne your ſelves to be godly, ſpirituall men, and to have the power of godlineſſe, is great impiety: For you in your affaires openly and profeſſedly to decline the perfect way of Chriſt, and goe to the waies of the Heathen; to lay aſide, exclude and thruſt out the heavenly man and his light; that you may pleaſe your ſelves in the darkneſſe of men. You doe fully manifeſt not being Chriſtian, divine, holy in all things, that truly you are ſo in nothing, and ſo your religion is vaine: Or that you are fallen from God to man; *You begun in the ſpirit, and end in the fleſh, and ſo Chriſt is of none effect at all*; for he that doth not do all things in the power of God, he doth nothing in it: You forget that ſpeech of Saint *Paul*, *You walke as men, are you not carnall?*

When we ſay, if you will walke as men, you muſt ſubmit to your Governours, live under humane Lawes, and be ſubject to them: then you fly from ſuch ordinary things to an extraordinary call, as *Phineas*, to be carried by the mighty power and preſence of God: that you in all things are as the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſſe; to have a *Pillar* of *Cloud* by day, and *Fire* by night to goe before you: Thus you *halt betweene two opinions*, and *gad about to change your way*; and are true to nothing, neither God nor man; but become as thoſe Beaſts in the *Revelations*, that have many heads and *crowns* upon them: your waies are beaſtly, cruell, abſurd, monſtrous with many heads, yet you'l be crownd with the moſt glorious titles of the preſence of God, the people of God, the cauſe of God: Therefore know this, though you would ſhuffle up your ground-worke, *Conſcience and duty to God and men*, you ſhall not: For a conſcience

guided

guided by the wisdom and power of God, scorns such base and unworthy waies as you walk in: and those men that you think are far below you, scorn to lift up themselves above their Superiors, and to lord it over King and Parliament as you do; nor dare continue in Arms against command of God and Men, and uphold a Company of vile and wicked wretches (only for their own safety) to the wasting and destroying of their Country.

Now you begin another part of your preamble, wherein you say, that that rule of *Salus populi, suprema lex, is of all others most apt to be abused:* You have all pretended to this maxim, but have miserably abused it, and the people too; a company of Deceivers and Mountebanks, that talk of curing, saving, delivering; but all waste, spoil, and destroy the people.

We shall ere long see, that *Suprema lex*, that law of love, the mercy and goodness of the most high God, is only *Salus populi*, the salvation of the People of England; its mis-applyed so long as any man assumes it to himself.

And here for two or three pages you are *triming your way to seek love*, as the Prophet saith; you put an excellent dress upon your work, and daub over a *rotten sepulcher*, wherein there is nothing but *dead mens bones*, with a shew of Wisdom, as if you would cut the hair of Justice, and go a way more exact than all that have gone before you; a pure *medium* 'tween all extremes, avoiding all the rocks of *Levellers* and *Cavaliers*, of all rashness and evil intentions, in which work you wrap up your selves in such a mist of circumlocutions, and are in such a wood of long and tedious expressions, that as *Solomon* says, *Are too wonderful for me.*

You are in this discourse, *An Eagle in the Ayr*, carried aloft by the Prince of the Ayr in your own Fancies: *A Serpent on a Rock, a crooked Serpent*, winding and turning this way and that way upon a Rock of Confidence of God and your own Wisdom. *A Ship in the midst of the Sea:* You are gone from all firme land, from all solid principles of goodnesse, and are tossed about in a sea of weakness and confusion. *And the way of a man with a maid:* You are lusting after your Mistris, honour; and to enjoy her, nimbly fly from one secret place to another to hide your selves from shame: such is the way of your adultrous Spirits, being gone from your Husband, the Lord, to the World: *You eat up* King, Parliament, and People, to satisfie your carnal love of Safety, and an outward Kingdom, and *wipe your mouths* with some fine Language, and *say you have done no*

Wickednes:

wickednesse: you may deceive your selves, but cannot deceive either God or man; tis very plain, that when you have multiplied your vain words your *swelling Words* to justifie your selves, it is but the *attire of a harlot*, and every one will see that you doe but *darken counsel by words without knowledge*; and while you think to make your selves more vendible, you make your selves more abhominable.

There be many particulars in this part worth answering, but those things wherein any shew of strength lies, you make often use of them, and we shal meet with them again hereafter, and therefore for present shall passe them over.

From the seventh to the twelfth page you are relating how the Parliament *Voted no more addresses, and how they were turned into this course of the Treaty*: It were exceeding easy to shew in several particulars of your discourse, that you doe, in favour to your selves, abuse the Parliament and others, and in most things accuse others of those things that *you your selves are guilty of*; but I shal leave that to some other Pen that loves to deal in such things; I would in al things discover to you how unchristian your charges are. In summe, you here lay open the instabilitie of the Parliament, and by what meanes they were tossed from one thing to another, and so declare the evil practises of the Kings party: in both you are very large, and very harsh to both, without *any molifying oile* or *mitigating mercy*, having nothing else in your eye, but to cover your owne shame, and as fully as you can, discover others, to ease your selves and load others: Tis Christs worke to excuse others and pity them, *Father forgive them, they know not what they doe*, and to take the burthen and guilt upon himselfe, to *bear our sins, he is made sin for us*; but tis your worke to condemn others, and justifie your selves; Christ pities others when he suffers by their hands; you are cruel and mercilesse to others when they suffer under your hands, such infinite distance is there betweene your spirits and the spirit of the Lord.

The poor Parliament, for their sins are shattered and broken, ful of perplexity; the whole Kingdome ful of discontent against them, and they reeling this way and that way to save themselves and the Kingdome, and know not how to doe it.

The Kings party for their sinnes likewise, lying under sore burdens, heavy pressures, and strugling to get from under their intolerable afflictions, but cannot. And in al these afflictions, our Lord

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is afflicted, and beares al our infirmities, they lie upon Christs shoulders: and you seeing the Kingdome (and the Lord of the Kingdome) lying like the poore man traveling from *Ierusalem* to *Iericho*, wounded and halfe dead, not onely passe by, as the *Priest* and the *Levite*, and leave it to sinke under its misery, but delight to tear and rend its wounds, to keepe them open that they may bleed continuallie. In al not a word of peace or pity to any, as dry and hard as the rocke; you have no *balme* at al for our wounds, nothing of the *good Samaritan*, but *vineger*, piercing, accusing, condemning speeches; as *Flesh-flies*, living upon the putrified sores, so doe you finde ease, pleasure and life to your cause upon the filth and ruine of the Nation. In this you are as the man possessed with the Devil, you are led by a dark, foule spirit, to walke and live amongst the graves, conversing with the dead carcasse of the Kingdome; *you stretch out the line of confusion* upon the Kingdome, and *gather together the stones of emptinesse*: you *make long furrowes upon the backs of the people*, intend our ruine to the furthest, and bring in to our desolate Nation, *the wild beast of the desert to meet with wild beasts of the Islands*; *the Satyre to cry to his fellow, the Screech-Owle, and the great Owle to lay and hatch, and the Vultures with their mates, all these dance together in this discourse*, which is blacke as pitch, darke and uncomfortable as the night, and threatning to adde misery upon misery upon us, and not a sillable of healing mercy in any; sure your nature is to take pleasure, to wallow and tumble in our Nations woes. Give me leave to tel the story after you, and to relate the businesse thus.

Once our King and Parliament, or People, lived quietly and lovingly together, embraced in the armes of divine goodnesse, prospered together as Husband and Wife, till their iniquities on both sides broke this union; and being parted by their jealousies and lusts, after many unkinde blowes betwixt them, The Parliament the Wife, in a high *rage*, at the remembrance of al her Lords unkindnesse, and *giving* too much eare to her owne passion, and the accusations of adultery, and provoaked by a multitude of perplexities, Voted no more Addresses; She would have nothing to doe with her Husband, but would forsake him for ever and be divorced from him; and then you who alwaies have lusted after the Royall Bed, *encourage* her with thanks, and court her for your selves.

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But ere long the natural affections of these two divided friends though much clogd with jealousies and discontents, begins to work, towards each other, which may be interrupted for a season, but cannot be totally extinguisht, The Parliament finding nothing but distraction, dishonour, with scorn and misery in a solitary state, and finding her self unable to satisfie her unquiet children without their Father, begins to think how she may again recover her own Head and Husband, and to this purpose Voted a Personal Treaty with the King.

And now we are fallen upon the principal and main subject of your Remonstrance, to shew the evil and danger of this Personal Treaty, in page 12. &c. you fall directly upon (*this miserable inconvenience of a Personal Treaty*) and else-where (*miserable ensnaring Treaty.*) It seems this Treaty doth very much offend, you declare so bitterly against it: Tis true, while things are at this imperfect state, it is a very easie matter to accuse or condemn any person or thing, but a hard matter to justifie or save any thing; that's the work of the devil, this is the work of God. I confess this Treaty is a poor, low, dark thing; neither party managing of it with that clearness and brightness of love and goodness that I could wish: that it doth not for the present give *satisfaction to any side: and being infirm,* you have great advantage in appearing against it, and some shew of reason for it; and therefore your acting against it may do some good to cleer it from some evil that adheres to it: for this is my mind, you nor none else can do any hurt to him, or them, that are truly good; but all things, be they never so evil in themselves, work together unanimously and constantly for their good: For this Treaty, *there is a blessing in it, destroy it not:* the seed of peace is in it, and it will thrive and flourish; act what you can against it, you cannot destroy peace and union, that's the Lords.

In this dark business where the King and Parliament are groping together to find a little ease and rest for themselves, being wearied with the miseries of War, doth the Lord come as a thief in the night; So that if both Parties should designe by it to cozen the world, and one another, the Thief would cozen them both: I mean, steal away their evil lusts and sins, and bring good out of it against the Designs of Men; and if you would trample upon it because its low and poor; and be jealous of it as dangerous and ensnaring; he will deceive you too, and make it for your good and peace as well as others, and against your present thoughts

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of strife, steale into your breasts, and beget love and peace there also. This is the robbery of this thiefe in the night, to steale away evill from us, and surprze us with good.

Your fiery contention therefore against it will be very usefull; twill burne up those doubts and feares that are on either side; melt each other into a closer union. The root of it being the divine love; all you doe against it will but quicken that principle, and spurr them on to a more hearty and earnest closing: and while you endeavour to rend them from each other, they will clasp the faster about each other, and turn all their contention against you, who from your present promoting of differences, will be suspected to be the Authors of all their strife.

Let us now examine the reasons you give against a Treaty, pag. 14. &c. You first Quere, and then declare, that it is not *just and good, nor safe*; and so all along you insist upon these two things *satisfaction and security*: To prove the justice of it, you state the interests of the Kingdome and Parliament as they have been the matter of our quarrell: In which we finde these faults.

First, You would make your own and the publique Interest to be one; they are so much different, that you are faine to patch them up together often, and bring in yours in a parenthesis; as here, pag. 14. *(though even the particular safety of such as have engaged for the publique is not to be neglected:)* In this and in the rest of your discourse, it appeares, you conceive your selves neglected and left out in the Treaty; and you do by this require your own Interest to be considered; and that's very obstructive to peace, for men in a distracted Kingdom to uphold a particular Interest, thwarting the generall peace and union, the common Interest of all States, and with violence to enforce it to the ruine of the whole.

That which you offer to us is not the Publique, but your particular Interest; which indeed is not your Interest neither, but a rent and division, an erronious opinion. For that there be *a common and supreme counsell, that the power of making Lawes, chusing officers, punishing offenders, be in them, &c.* Its very apparent that this is not half the Interest of the Kingdome, tis much too narrow for a rich, honourable Nation: Generally you know the people of *England* desire Peace, setled Religion, establisht Truth, freedom of Trade, and this with His Majesty, under their King, that he may govern them according to their honest and known Lawes, that they may live in prosperity and honour; For these devised things, you propose

the people know them not, affect them leſſe then know them; they are invented onely to pleaſe and ſecure your ſelves, and to pull downe Monarchy, againſt which you would make your ſelves irreconcileable: Theſe principles are but the ax or knife, to prune and cut the extravagancies of Monarchy or Tyranny; and if all the Kingdome were an ax or knife, we were in an ill caſe: You are but a part, and alas, an inconſiderable part; not one of an hundred will owne what you ſet downe as the publique Intereſt; and a diſeaſed part; a bone ſtarted out of his place; a piece of timber, that is gone from the whole frame of the Kingdome, which is large, and conſiſts of Kings, Lords, Commons, with innumerable, excellent branches growing out of theſe.

Now this were a ſtrange cure, to break all the bones in the body, to bring the whole to one diſ-jointed part, or to force the whole houſe to come after one piece that is ſtarted out, is ill workmanſhip. Tis a ſtrange thing that men ſhould place the welfare of the kingdome in ſuch inconſiderable things; Methinks tis a wonder, that men ſhould bring forth ſome pedantick conceits, and then magnifie them ſo farre, as entitle them to the whole Kingdome. Thus will meane and narrow ſpirits doe, when they intrude themſelves into publique affaires: When Souldiers, men of private ſpirits, confident of their ability and judgement in greateſt matters, ſhall produce brats of their owne braine, and impoſe them upon the nation, we ſhall be ſlaves indeed.

Secondly, That you that are Chriſtians, that talke of the reign of Chriſt and of the Saints, ſhould now engage your ſelves to ſo baſe an intereſt as this is; that you will eſpouſe ſo poore a quarrell, which, in ſumme, is to throw downe a King and Lords, and ſet up the people: *That all power ſhould be in the hands of the Parliament, and that to be certaine, and in the hands of a ſubordinate officer to call, &c.* Will the eſtabliſhing of this ſatisfie you for all the bloodſhed, eſtates ruin'd, &c? is this your ſatisfaction? ſhould you not rather propoſe, that all power, and dominion, and reigne ſhould bee given to the Lord, that King, and Parliament, and People, and all ſhould be filled with the righteouſneſſe and goodneſſe of God? But theſe things are too good to bee ſpoken of, beyond your faith ever to ſee it. But I'le tell you, if this be not your intereſt to have God all in all, to fill every thing, and to have all things offered up to him in truth and righteouſneſſe: your intereſt and Gods are more divided then yours and the Kings; and if you adhere to that

you

you have propoſd, you forſake your owne intereſt, and eſpouſe the Devils, the God of this world, the Deſtroyer, and will periſh with him.

Thirdly, this is a fault, that you all along carry the intereſt of the publique in oppoſition to the Kings; which is a wicked thing, to divide them that God hath joyned: wherein you doe, as ſwordmen, cut in pieces, and indeed deſtroy and mangle, not onely the Kingdome, but the word *intereſt*, which is of a uniting ſignification; *inter eſſe* is to be in or amongſt each other; The publique hath its intereſt in the King, and the King his intereſt in the publique; or they have the ſame *eſſe*, or intereſt, which is to be together in each other; the King is in the people, and the people in the King; the Kings being is no: abſolute, or alone but an intereſt, as he is in union with, and relation to his people, which are his ſtrength and life; and the peoples being is not naked or ſolitary, but an intereſt in the greatneſſe and wiſedome of their King, who is their life and honour: And though you will diſ joyn your ſelves from Kings, God will not, neither will I; God is King of Kings; Kings and Princes God, as well as peoples; their God as well as ours, and theirs eminently, as that ſpeech enforces: God of *Iſrael*, *Iſraels* God above all the nations; ſo King of Kings, Kings God more then of common men, and by near and eſpeciall kindred and communion; aſſuming their Titles and Honour, and giving them his Majeſty and Dominion: Kingſlineſſe agrees with all Chriſtians who are of a royall nature, made Kings with Chriſt, and cannot but be friend: to it, being of kin to it; the children of God, born of the King of Heaven, are men of honour (not in a baſe, vaine way, but in a true, juſt way:) and if there be not Kings to honour, they would want objects to beſtow that fulneſſe of honour that is in their breaſts, would loſe the greateſt part of their delight, which is Majeſty and Glory, would want occaſion of expreſſing their high, noble ſpirits. It is a baſtard Religion that is inconſiſtent with the majeſty and greatneſſe of the moſt abſolute Monarch; and ſuch ſpirits are ſtrangers from the Kingdome of heaven, and know not the glory in which God lives, and are of narrow and evill mindes that are corrupt themſelves, and not able to beare greatneſſe, and ſo think God will not or cannot qualifie men for ſuch high places, with anſwerable and proportionable power and goodneſſe. You are indeed much in the fleſh, in a form of Religion which is weak and of a parting nature, cannot con-

ceive nor comprehend things in union; you are dividing still tweene heaven and earth tweene God and King; you can't own them in union, and so divide King and people: but the spirit of God is large, and reconciles, composes, gathers all into one, into Christ, God and man into one person; head and members into one body. This love you know not, that embraces God and the King in one person, and King and people in one body.

A fourth fault is, in your further stating of the controversy tweene King and Parliament, you bring in, in the second place, religion; the order shewes the present frame of your spirits, first the world, and then godlinesse: But in this you erre exceedingly, in putting all the enmity against godlinesse and the power of it, on the Kings part, and charging it upon him as his interest, and assuming all religion and godlinesse to your selves.

Upon this ground stands much of the controversy betweene the Cavaliers and you; that they are wicked, you godly; they enemies to God, you Saints; they darkenesse, you light, and therefore as you say afterward, *What fellowship hath light with darknesse?* This is a ground (if it stand good) of an everlasting quarrell; and if it fals, I hope some of the edge of your contention may be taken off.

The answer of this is as proper for me as any; who, you know, doe well understand the utmost of the religion you walke in, and have beene exercised in it with as much exactnesse, faithfulnesse, power and comfort as any of you; Your consciences, many of you, can beare witnesse of the uprightnesse and efficacy of my conversation amongst you; and that I was, when I was with you, not only a companion, but a leader to you in the best things: and since have beene tryed by very great sufferings, and made a spectacle to God and men, and beene publiquely set up as a marke, for all men to shoot their opinions and judgements at, and dare challenge the whole earth, the Lord being my Righteousnesse, to accuse me of any injustice to God or man: and now must testifie concerning you and my self with you, that that way wherein you walk is not the *power of godlinesse*, but a poore weake, fleshly forme,

You are indeed Saints by intention, counsell, hope; you aime at it, looke for it: but in your present state you are carnall, and walk in the flesh, in great infirmity: that your state at best was but to be as the Iewes, having a forme of knowledge according to the letter of the law: which forme is now corrupted, left and forsaken of God, and you are become, through blindnesse & ignorance,

enemies

enemies to the spirit, and to the Crosse of Christ: You live not the life of Christ; you are not dead to the world; nay, you oppose that death; you will not suffer with Christ; you have not the Spirit of God; walk not in your affaires in the wisedom and strength of God, nor in the love of God; you know not the minde of God, have not communion with God; what ever you doe, or have done, you doe it by the strength of man, and not by the power of God; and now left to a poore, blinde, unstable way, not knowing whither you goe, *your wayes being dark and slippery*, and yet glorying in fleshly and outward things; mistaking earthly and common blessings for heavenly and inward; crying up the *Lord, the Lord*, when you doe the works of the Devill: The Holy God will no longer suffer you to wear those names of Saints and Godly, but *will cast dung upon your solemne Feasts, and curse your blessings*, and discover you to be but *whited sepulchers*, and cause your rottennesse to come forth, *uncover your nakednesse*, before the Nation, that all may abhorre and loath that outward, formall Religion which you professe; it doth and will more stink in the nostrils of those people that have no knowledge of God, to see pride, self-love, contention for the world, rebellion, falshood, folly and hatred of God, to be in such zealous pretenders to the Spirit of God.

As you have not the power of Godlinesse, so you have many visible grosse lusts, and evill principles which morall men doe oppose in you; you are not pure, nor is it only for your purity (as you suppose) that the Kings Party oppose you, but for your withstanding some things that are good in them, and such as their consciences are bound by God to prosecute; though there be that wickednesse in many of them too, to hate that of God that hath appeared in you, because different from theirs; but their opposition is not directly against the face of God, for that never shined forth clearly in us, but against that particular form, as destructive to theirs, and our carnall principles which were contrary to theirs, and those obscured with many infirmities too: so that in high pride for us to think that we are all Saints, Godly, &c. and they enemies to God, because to us.

And 2. It is as much uncharitablenesse to judge them, as altogether in the dark; for though they are indeed visibly in greater loosenesse many of them, and more in the condition of the Gentiles, living more manifestly according to the course of the world, &c. yet in many things you have justified their principles as more righteous then yours; and many of their persons

more sober, patient, loving, gentle; yea, more knowing and discerning in the things of God then you: And though there be amongst that Party the greatest, visible and morall wickednesse, yet there is among you the greatest enmity and malignancy to the Spirit of God; the greatest pride, hypocrisy, selfe confidence, and spirituall wickednesse.

And this you will know that thus judge after the flesh, that those *Publicans and Harlots shall enter into the Kingdom of God before you*: Many of them *shall come from the East and from the West*, and from the remotest parts of the earth, and greatest distance from God, *and sit down with* Abraham, Isaac *and* Jacob *in the Kingdome of God, and you shall be thrust out*: Therefore this manner of judging of yours, of accounting them evill, and your selves good, is one of *those strong delusions* spoken of, whereby you are,

First, Led to the destroying of others as righteous as your selves.

Secondly, Kept off from the sight of your own iniquities, and making Warre with them: for indeed these two Parties are within you; and if you were not kept by this formall, fleshly opposing of sinne in others, you would have no other contention but with sin in your own breasts, to destroy those works of the Devill in which you are bound.

Till you lay downe this fleshly war with others, and begin that spirituall war with Antichrist, Malignants, &c. in your own hearts, you will never have peace: And to satisfie you and all parties in the Kingdome concerning these oppositions, and contests in religious matters, tis thus:

All men are in the dark, and know not the whole body of divine truth, only lay hold each of some part of it. So that *truth*, which is one in it self, in and amongst the darknesse of men, is divided, cut in pieces, and lies scattered about here and there; and every one holds what hee holds in enmity and contrariety to others, and through pride and malice with that good that is in him, opposes God and goodnesse in others: that by this all may be ashamed and broken in pieces, and become guilty before God, and made at last to come down from their proud conceits, and see they are fooles, *and know nothing as they ought to know*, and to bee willing to learn of others.

After you have stated the controversy to prove the injustice of an Accommodation, you fall upon the King, judging him in the highest

highest manner, as guilty of the foulest treason, murder, &c. and that too in a most unpardonable and irreconcilable way, as incapable of mercy, and beyond all peace and accommodation: There is nothing wherein the Devill is more exercised, then in accusing, from which hee hath his name: and there is nothing wherein he hath more corrupted the nature of man in these last dayes, then this; it being that generall forme into which hee hath cast the spirits of men, whence they are called, 2 *Tim.* 3. 3. Διάβολοι, Accusers, or in plaine English, Devils: Men are now very ordinarily, and with a shew of justice, Devils one to another.

This is common amongst men, especially amongst religious and professing men; The Scribes and Pharisees, men in the highest form of Religion, are the most guilty of it, thinking ordinarily that they have right to judge; and this is notoriously your sinne in this work. To destroy it in you and others, wee shall set out the evill of it, as it hath been expressed in some Scriptures.

Rom. 2. 1. *Thou art unexcusable, oh man, whosoever thou art, that judgest*; God hath reserved the authority of judgement to himselfe, who is and will be *Iudge of all*; its proper for God only, who knows hearts, who only knows good and evill, who can save as well as destroy; and therefore not fit for man, who can do neither good nor evill; at best he cannot save, and therefore most unfit to be a judge: Therefore you, whosoever you are, be you never so good men, religious men, blest with never so great favours, you have nothing to doe to judge while you are men.

If it be objected, then there should be no Iudges amongst men. I answer, Iudges are Gods; *I have said ye are Gods*: and if they have not the power and goodnesse of God, as well as the place and title, they are Idols, Heathen Gods; and when we say, *God is Iudge alone*, we meane not God out of, but in man; or man taken up into the Righteousnesse and Authority of God, man sanctified by God.

Secondly, Man, a judge, is inexcusable; he that will be a judge is supposed to bee so high in holinesse, so innocent as needs no excuse; hee that is in the nature of God, tis a shame for him to think of an excuse. Tis my infirmity, I am a sinner; but I have a Saviour: Tis a dangerous thing therefore being men, and needing excuse for your weaknesse, that you presume to be judges, and put

your

your selves out of excuse; you cannot say you are ignorant, no, you are wise judges; you cannot say you are weak, no, you are strong to sentence others; you cannot say you are sinners, being judges of the Law you may not be thought breakers.

Or for a vile man to lift up himselfe in the place of God, to be so fortishly blind in himselfe, as not to see his own filthinesse, and conceive himself a God, it's a presumption that admits of no excuse tis so grosse: or for a man to be so cruell to his brother as to judge him and thrust him out of the grace of God, it so Diabolicall, as there's no excuse for it; by doing this men shew themselves Devils, for whom there's no mercy, no favour.

It follows, *For wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thy selfe; for thou that judgest doest the same things*. There is a fellowship in evill as in good: every man while he is a sinner, hath in him whatever any sinner hath; as every righteous man hath what ever another righteous man hath: If you judge any part of your nature, you judge the whole: If a man that lives in the world, then your selves, your spirits, principles, actions, which are all worldly and sinfull; Especially and particularly, what ever any party accuses another of concerning these Warres, they themselves doe the same things: To instance in the present case.

You judge the King guilty of breaking Covenant, of betraying Trust; have we not broke our Oath of Allegiance to him, and betrayed the Trust he put in his people? and have not we likewise betrayed that Trust the Parliament put in us, when after promises of subjection to them, the Army refused, and made Warre with them?

You judge him guilty of all the bloud, rapine, spoyl: Dare any man say hee is not guilty of it? Were we absolute in taking up Armes, in prosecuting the Warre, in continuing in Armes? Is there not in all, self-love, malice, revenge, envie, distrust of God? Had we beene rightly carryed in freeing *England* from oppression, wee had freely laid downe our lives in a voluntary suffering, and that would have saved the Kingdome; whereas by our rash running to force, we are guilty of the miseries of Warre as well as the King: But in continuing the Army after your enemies subdued, you are manifestly guilty of the present oppression upon the poore people; of the intolerable burthen of free-quarter, and unreasonable Taxes.

You charge him for seeking to set up his own Interest of will

and

and power. Do you not do the same thing? What do you now but set up will and power? Going beside all Law and right, to set up the worst will and power, the will and power of the People, of the Sword: Therfore let me expostulate with you, as that Apostle, *Thou that saist a man should not steal, dost thou steal? &c.* Thou that hast so much light as to oppose tyranny, art thou the veriest tyrant? Thou that pleadst for Laws, art thou the greatest violater of Laws? we wil go further with the Apostle, *Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?* You abhor his ways as gross; but you have more secret and close iniquities; you rob God even of his Throne, setting up your formal Religion in the place of God: you complain of shedding innocent blood, & you shed the truly innocent blood of Christ: Of Rapin and spoil, and you daily spoil the Temple of God, your own bodies and souls with your noisom lusts. Afterwards, *v. 3. Thinkest thou this, ô man, that judgest them that do such things, and dost the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?* He that judgeth is guilty, and his guilt begins to stir in him: God begins to write bitterness in the conscience, and then to save himself, he begins to judg others: Judgment of men is the constant effect of troubled spirits; and this is your condition, You are restless in your selves, you find *God* frowning upon you for your sins; that makes you seek for *satisfaction for blood, that it may be expiated, and the wrath of God appeased:* The fire is kindled in your own hearts, *your tongues are set on fire of hell.* If you had the peace of God upon true grounds, you would be still, or if your consciences were besprinkled with the blood of *Christ*, you would not seek for expiation: but there is the voice of *thy brothers blood, the blood of Abel cries, not the blood of Christ.* The blood of *Christ*, if you knew it, cries peace, reconciliation, union, favor, love, taking away enmity. The blood of *Abel* for revenge, for Justice; this is your voice, which shews a *Cains* spirit; you are troubled for your sins, *Thinkest thou to escape the righteous judgment of God*, no, thou art running farther into it, you are not quitting your selves, but increasing your evils. *Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness*: God hath been gracious unto you, and reprieved you for a while from destruction: do you thus abuse it to harden your hearts to pride, malice, and wicked insulting over your brethren? Is this the use of your Victories, to have opportunities to doe more mischief? *And so treasure up wrath for your selves*: For all that you lay upon

 others

others, you provide it and store it up for your selves. God hath declar'd you know rich mercy to the King and his party, in my Book called, *The leaves of the tree of Life*: You dispise this rich mercy, scorn it, and set up your merciless justice against it; *Not knowing that the goodness of God leads to repentance*: you require repentance before mercy: Gods goodness goes before, and leads to repentance, and that goodness that hath been manifest though you ignorantly despise it, counting it folly and madness, upon no other ground, but because tis too rich and good for you to apprehend; it shall produce its own effect in power, and manifest your ungodliness in contradicting of it; And know you, that no man shall appear either directly or indirectly against it, but he shall by it discover the evill of his own heart, and manifest that he walks in darkness, and knows not the glorious Counsell of the Lord.

There is one place more I would have the world consider, and it would make them afraid of judging, *Mat: 7. 1. &c. Judge not, that you be not judged*: you have judged the King and his party; for it you shall be judged, I'l judge you; *And what judgment ye judg, you shall have; that measure that you give him you shall receive*: You exclude him from peace, you have none your selves: You thrust him from mercy, you have no mercy your selves: You live not in the enjoyment of divine love, if you did, you could not be so cruel as you are, such enemies to peace: You are that evill servant. God hath forgiven *you ten thousand talents*, you come and take your fellow servant by the throat for *an hundred pence*: The Lord is wrath with you, and now your forgivenes is recald, and you must pay the utmost farthing: You shall not have mercy, as you have had it, freely, but you shall suffer for it: You remember the Kings sinnes, God will remember yours again: Know this, you are not *in the kingdom of God, nor blessed*, if you were, you would be *peacemakers*; for, *Blessed are the peacemakers, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven*; they that are blessed by the enjoiment of God, and in the light of Gods kingdom they see all things in union, the King one with God; and the Parliament and people one with the King: they are one in God, in his largeness of love, but you are cursing, dividing, and so are in the kingdom of darkness and the Devill: This is your judgment. All the evill that you bring forth is within you; 'tis your own, though you will fix it upon another;

ther; if it were not in you, you would not, could not produce it.

And why beholdest thou the mote in thy brothers eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? &c. The evils that you charge the King and his party with, though great in your narrow minds, are but motes in the account of God; your smalness aggravates them, his largeness lessens them: He that *counts the nations as a drop of a bucket, and dust of the ballance*, counts these miscarriages that are amongst the nations a very small matter, easily blowe away that which you silly creatures lift at as mountains, toil and sweat at it to bring forth ruine from it: 'Tis but a mote to a godly heart, easily forgiven; and a mote in the eye, hindering sight; the King and his party many of them saw no better, thought they ought to defend their right against us that rebell'd. And now it's a mote in the eye indeed, if vexes them, they are afflicted for it under the hand of God, and that's your cruelty: *You persecute him whom the Lord hath smitten, and talk to the grief of those whom God hath wounded*: But you have a beam in your eye; your sins are greater, being aggravated by many mercies, much light that others have not enjoyed; your sin is a beam; your religion, strength upon which you lean and lay so much weight, that's become an iniquity, and a beam in your eye, that you cannot distinguish any thing, nor discern good from evil, but are stark blinde, you cannot see your brethren, but judge them enemies; and enemies are not fit Judges: and if you could see them brethren, you would not judge them as you do: you cannot see to pull out the mote, to take away the evill and leave the eye; but you are pulling out the eye, the eye of the Kingdom, one that is the apple of Gods eye; of whom he saith, *Touch it not*: not the eye onely, but the head, and so the whole body; taking away the eye, that you may lead the bodie whither you please.

Having taken this power of judging out of your hands & shew'd your sin and shame in presuming upon it; We shall now consider some grounds you lay down why the King is not to be received again to peace, nor restored to his Office and Dignitie: And we shal in the view of them see how much your injustice is against God, and your selves, in that where you professe for justice.

First, You insist upon this, *pag.* 24. *God hath given him so clearly into your hands to do justice*: and afterward, *God hath given a double judgement against him*, &c. And else-where, *pag.* 5. to set forth

Gods favour to you, you say, *God makes haste to judgement, and hath appeared as a severe avenger:* 'Tis true, God hath judged the King again and again, and dealt very severely with him; he is the greatest sufferer in the Kingdom, having lost his Crown, Honour, Familie, Libertie, Revenue, &c. And you thrive, increase in wealth, honour, live better now then ever, are lords where you come; and you add miserie to miserie, and affliction to affliction: Is this justice or malice? Hath God judged twice? And why will you not submit to his judgement? Why will you take it out of Gods hand? Doth not God know how to do it? Is he not severe enough? You say he is severe: Doth he want wisdom to secure himself and his people? He knows not how to make all sure, you must mend it: When did God chasten or judge man, and then give him to men to chasten again? Or when did Gods people fall upon punishing after God had done it? Is God weary of afflicting, and repents him of the evil, or remiss in executing his judgement, that you would have men take it into their hands? Know, foolish men, your plea is your condemnation, and what you bring as your strength, shews your rebellion and unsubjection to the judgement of God.

2. You argue, p. 34. *No remorse appearing proportionable to the offence; if that could be seen, you should regard it with a proportionable tenderness towards him.* Herein you destroy and denie that free mercie of God upon which you have lived a long while; and manifest that your profession of the Gospel was indeed but in letter, not in power; if it had, you would as freely *forgive, as God for Christs sake forgave you: And give freely as you have received freely.* Where the love of God and the Gospel comes in power, it transforms and changes the person into its own glory, and makes a Christian be indeed to others, what God is to him and in him. You requiring *proportionable remorse* for the offence, and then will give *proportionable regard*; how legall and humane is this? God forgives and shews mercie that men may repent; he loves first, before we can love: but you must receive good before you can give, and will see repentance before grace, and that in the severest way of merit; Such sure will be the way of God to you; yea, such it is, and your hearts are dry and utterly void of the riches of divine mercy; and you live upon your works, duties, experience, victories, and such empty husks, and not upon the love of God; or else you would not bring forth such wretched, harsh, flinty stuff as this is.

Then

Then you say, *There is no change of heart, no repentance, no free nor full yeelding to all the parts of Publick and Religious Interest*: You know not the heart, nor can you judge of the Kings principles; they are too high for you, you know not your owne hearts, and therefore not his: You expect he should turn, not to God, but to your form of Religion and Government; and cannot count any thing a change but yeelding to your way; which if he should, he should but be *seven times more the childe of the Divell.*

'Tis true, the King hardly parts with his right, and is unwilling to commit the Government *wholly* into others hands; but he hath done it, though in weakness and darkness, in a smoke: but for you to quench this smoking flax, is not the spirit of Christ, he is in a doubting condition, 'tween willingnesse to yeeld, and a fear of wronging himself, his Posteritie, and others by his grants; 'tis a hard case, and deserves bowels of pity, and is pitied by the bowels of the mercie of God, though you deal harshly with him. It's a hard thing to part with honour and greatness; it's easier far to seek & to get it, then leave it: and if you could remember how God got ground in our hearts when he came to change us; how we disputed every inch, and never yeelded to the Lord but by constraint, you would accept of the Kings compliance: But remember, the *same measure, &c.* You will have occasion, ere long, to think of this with horror.

Thirdly, You argue against the Accommodation, because now *there is no equall ballance of affairs, pag.* 24. Your meaning is, as you often expresse, *the Kings forces are wholly subdued*; he is in your power, and not now to be *restored to a state of equality to your selves*, making your selves levell with him.

To all men yet, what you make an argument of severitie and justice, hath been an argument of mercie: noble enemies require no more, but to get their enemies into their power, then they shew mercie. 'Tis *Elisha's* reason concerning the *Syrians*, *Wouldst thou smite those that thou hast taken captive, with the sword and with the bow? set bread before them, that they may eat, and return to their Master*. This way like wise the Father of mercies uses, and hath used to you and us, never bringing us down, but that he might restore us and lift us up again. And all noble creatures, both man & beast, have this part of the Majesty of God in them, to spare them they

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have subdued; onely Devils get into their hands that they might torment.

A fourth reason is, *That he often caused War to maintain his Interest against the publick Interest, this constantly and universally.* We must note this by the way, in proposing such an interest, as you hold forth to be the ground of the quarrel, you lie grosly; for these things, as you propose them, were never thought on in the beginning of the quarrel; yea, the Parliament and we always professed the contrary, &c. never to alter the Government; never to change the fundamentall Lawes; yea, to protect and defend the Kings Person; therefore the case now stated by you is much different from what it was; yea, these principles, you were lately not onely ignorant of them, but opposed them, when held forth by the Levellers; and are indeed but the dust or shivers of a split or broken Kingdom, that you and they have gathered together to build your selves a nest with, and taken up now in designe onely to attain your end, malice, ambition and revenge.

But by your proposing this as that against which the King made war, you do the most justifie the King that ever any one did or can do; for your present form of Government is such an headlesse monster, such a hoddy-doddy, such an all-breech, so different from the Majesty of God and the wisdom of men, that it would fright solid and serious men to their arms: if I should fight against any thing, I should fight against this. And doth not your present practice confirm the King and his party in their way of war, when they now see clearly, what before we conceal'd, that the life of the King & his Posterity is aimed at: If there be any reason for a Prince to take up arms against his subjects, this is, when men attempt to destroy his Person, and overthrow the very foundations of Government. 'Tis true, for a Prince to strip himself wholly of all his Dominion and Royalty in love to his subjects, and to cure and recover their rebellions, is Christ-like; and the Lord will enable the King to make a full resignation of all, and of life too, into the hands of God; and when he shall do it, it will be his ease and deliverance: And what the Lord requires in light and mercy, you require in darkness and malice; for the Lord takes away that he may restore again, and the King shall by losing save all; by parting with his power unto God in dark and cruell men, shall receive it again into the life and glory of God.

You come, *pag.* 26. to the second part of the question, and a second

cond reason against accommodation, *The safety of this agreement*

Let us consider what you would have secured, and that is expressed in your Remonstrance, That *the King hath forfeited all his power into your hands*; That *the people are free to make the best advantages*: And *pag. 67. Having him and his party captivated, and in their power*; and sometimes you speak, *Conquest*; which shews, that we have gotten all the King hath; we have, by war, gotten advantage of power, honor, &c. And this is in danger now to be given away and lost by a Treatie; We see murder will out; what hath bin whispered in a corner, is come to be told upon the house tops. We have all this while, to justifie our selves in this war, said, That our war was but defensive; and indeed if it prove other wise, we must repent of it, and bear the shame of it; and now the truth shal come forth. I must deal plainly with you and my self; indeed its so grosse in your writing, that it was not onely defensive; but offensive, that it cannot be concealed; and that we had designes of particular interest and advantage: When we began the war there was this in our minds, and hath been in our minds continually, That the King and his party were wicked men, and not worthy or fit for their places and power they had; and that we were Saints, godly, and they did properly belong to us: That the Saints are to have the high places in the earth, and now was the time for these things to be performed, and no body is now fit to administer justice, to rule over men, but we: Therefore we alwaies were glad of any of the Kings waies that tended to difference & breach: glad when he left his Parliament and took Armes, thinking that he was running to his destruction, and that he would split himself and his party by it, and we should have the spoil of them, and an opportunity to obtain our ends; and though we complain now of the Kings obstinacie, really we have been alwaies glad of it, because it led to his destruction, and consequently to our advantage; and the King not yeelding, you know now at this time, was thirsted after, and you would not stir till he manifested a yeelding minde to accommodation, or peace, being alwaies held destructive to our end, or the recovery of our right (the whole Kings dome) for we think our selves the onely true Lords: except the King would take part with us, and become one of our Saints, and so we should share with him. But now God manifests that you are not Saints, but as weak men as others, as foolish, oppressing as others, if not worse; that you are not in a condition of reign-

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sing yet be in pleas'd to blast your honor and keep you low; and hath so ordered it, that a Treatie to on foot to settle things, and you are left out, are likely to lose those places which you and your friends have, & not to attain those golden days you hoped to see: you find hopes of raigning to be but a dream, that you must come down again from that you have gotten, and hoped to get; so your outward and fleshly glory is dying, gives a bleeding in *this miserable inconvenience of a Treaty, this insnaring Treaty*; when you & your friends in the House and abroad, shall have your hearts ripped up to you, you'l say this is truth; and this is the reason that you seek security, something to uphold your tottering Kingdom: Now to part with this is death to you, and you call it a *preposterous and self-deserting way*, *page* 27. Now consider this.

First, you have by this wofully declin'd your cause and manifest you undertooke the warre for advantage; though it may be you were such strangers to your own hearts, as not to know it: But there is more evill in you then yet you understand, and it will break forth in your life. If the war had been only defensive, you would have rested quietly, when much more is offered then we ever had.

Secondly, that you count all your own because you have fought for it; the Kingdome and glory of it is but enough to reward you for your works; that you have right to all, 'tis yours, and your patrons, and this makes you often expresse the Kings title by conquest: indeed you would enforce him to hold by it, though he never mentioned it; because its your *prefer* claim, you count your selves conquerours; which is a brutish thing, and by it you would extinguish civility, contract, religion, humane nature, law, and all the obligations of them to bring in your title, force: Briefly *Warr*: That you will lose nothing, but keep what you have got, and would by war and force recover what by force you have won; and therefore call *self-deserting* (all one with *self-denying* or self-forsaking) *preposterous*.

Now then to conclude this, you are not Saints yet; Saints will not seek a kingdom by the destruction of others, nor rejoyce in the evill of others, either sin or punishment; nor in others fall, that they may rise, nor advance themselves by an Army compos'd of ungodly men, rule by force, but love. Yet 'tis true, Saints shall reign notwithstanding, and those will prove Saints before you, that you little think for; *God will provoke you by a foolish people.*

Know

Know too, that Saints rights are ſecure in Heaven, and need not beg ſecurity of men: I ſcorn that Cauſe, that is ſubject to ruine and deſtruction; and therefore, your fears and ſad expreſſions of danger impending, ſhews your Foundation to be upon the Sands: *I laugh at your deſtruction, and mock when your fear comes.* You live in God, ſtand for God, and the Goſpel of God, and talking of ruine and deſtruction; baſe is that way, and accurſed, that is ſubject to ſuch black thoughts: Our Cauſe is immortal, 'tis eternal, it lives and triumphs in death, is gain in loſs, deſtruction is far from us, we know it not; *But ſit under our own Vine and Fig-tree, and none makes us afraid.*

Another thing in danger, is, *Perſons engaged, the Party adhering.* You harp often upon this ſtring, *Pag.* 28,29. four or five times; you think the *King will be revenged of you, for your eminent activity againſt him.* This diſcovers a baſe and poor ſpirit, and unbecoming Chriſtian Souldiers, to continue war, break off peace, deſigne the ruine of the King and His Family, ſubvert the whole Government of the Kingdom, to ſecure your own lives; and this, I know, is one main reaſon of your preſent activity, and others are but aſſumed and pretended to cover this; a Principle very deſtructive to a Kingdoms Peace, and contrary to the Spirit of Chriſt: *Fear, a ſnare and the pit, have taken hold of you,* that are forced to continue the diſturbance of a Nation, and all the miſeries of War upon us, to ſave your ſelves. Let us ſuppoſe your fears (and the fears of thoſe that are called honeſt men, for this is a general diſtemper) to be demonſtrations, as doubtleſs to you they are, and that indeed the King ſhould pick out a dozen, or twenty, or more, to ſuffer; what then: Suppoſe I were one of them, I account thus.

I have victory over death, and death is ſwallowed up by victory, and therefore cannot fear it, am free from it, death cannot hurt me, I ſport with it, am above his reach; I live an immortal life, and cannot ſee death; and he that hath not this freedom is a ſlave.

Secondly, I have no life but truth; and if truth be advanced by ſuffering, then my life alſo: If Truth live, I live; if Juſtice live, I live; and theſe cannot dye, but by any mans ſuffering are enlarged, enthroned; and ſo I am enlarged: If I, or any other, have a life diſtinct from Truth, its a lye; if diſtinct from Juſtice, its unjuſt.

Thirdly, My life is a common life; I live with you and in you, I can confess you, and all have a right to it; if you come for it, take it: If I had a life separated from you, I would lay it down for my brethren, and I ought to do it; that I might live with you, and you with me; *and I would spoil principalities and powers by this cross*: If the King should come to take it, I would so freely yeeld, that he could not but yeeld to that love that can dye for him; and so hold forth a true immortal power that is too strong for earthly and fleshly oppositions: or if any should seek my life, I would be content to give it, that I might live again in their souls: And this is the way of the Gospel to overcome Tyrants, and no other way, and to gain Kingdoms indeed.

Fourthly, I count it not an honest life that needs such force, with so much misery to the Kingdom, to maintain it; but on the other side, I am engaged to dye for my Country, and I shall more advantage the Cause of Liberty and Religion by one single suffering that is pure, then we have done by all the Blood that hath been shed in this rude way of War; and lay a better and stronger Foundation against Tyranny and Errour, then all these Wars; I judg it ten times more honorable for a single person, in witnessing Truth, to oppose the World in its Power, Wisdom, and Authority, standing in its full strength, and that nakedly and singly, then fighting many Battels by Army-force: this is brutish, common; the other Christian, divine, holy, excellent; and therefore your great care of securing your selves comes from a slavish fear of death, from an unwillingness to suffer, and want of the power of godliness to meet the power of the world with, and true and heavenly love to your Country: You know not that Command, *Ephesians* 5. 2. *walk in love as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour*: If you had this *perfect love it would cast out fear*; if your life were indeed united to God, or *Christ were your life*, or that you loved others so as you could dye for them, you would not now be to seek for security: 'Tis your great fear, and expressed *page* 38. you may *be made a sacrifice*: That which is proposed to you by God, upon the example of Christ, is abhorred by you. If Christ had been led by this principle, when he saw his Enemies engaged against him to seek his life, to have fought their life to secure his own, he had not shewed himself to be the Son of God; And you, in this, declare your selves not to be the Sons of God: It's no Justice, less Piety, to take away an-

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others life to save our own; that's the way of God to lay down his life for others; and that's a wicked life that requires other mens lives to maintain it, that cannot stand but by others fall.

Now let us consider the Reasons of the insecurity of the publike Interest in this accommodation; you give many, and may give many more, considering how much wrath God hath let out upon the world and all parts of it to destroy it: 'Tis the easiest thing now that can be to find out ways of ruine, but hard to find ways of peace; and though we must confess you very quick-sighted in discovering of dangers, and very sensible of evil, yet we will not admire it as any excellent piece of policy, but judg it as the effect of a fearful and self-condemning spirit.

In the first place, you fall down into the observation of past times, and *challenge story for an instance, &c. page 27.* There is, I know, a good use of story; but in you it is a dull and heterogeneous thing, and a looking back for strength, declining your own principles which you have professed; new light, the Kingdom of Christ, to be carryed on by the Spirit and power of God; and these things will not, you know, subject themselves to the weakness and darkness of former ages: You know you have a light of truth and justice that no age can parallel, that your ways are beyond all example; why do you then disturb the dead, and challenge them to testifie in these affairs that they are ignorant of? *Or why do you seek the living among the dead,* and depart from the living God to dead Idols to relieve you?

Then you bring forth many *evil surmisings, how apt Princes are to break such accommodations, and how easie it is for them,* page 29. and in proving these, *you are as a bird wandring from her nest, you have forgotten your resting place,* and being in a dark wilderness, you are pursued by fear and wrath on every side: I will not follow you in your wanderings, but give you sight of your condition in these few observations.

First. You looke upon all past passages and present actions in this Kingdome, in the darkness of man, not in the light of God; in the weakness, instability and unfaithfulness of wicked men; not in the strength, stability and faithfulness of a righteous God.

If you would see the peace of God in this agreement (though covered with rags) you would rejoyce in it and blesse it; and if

you saw God bringing down wicked powers, and preventing of them in an evil course, you would rest in the *work of the Lord*, and know God that hath done it, is faithful, and will do it still. If you saw the Justice of God against tyranny and oppression, you would know, that Justice is eternal, and will for ever secure us; or if you saw God give us these Concessions and Grants from the King; God disposing his heart *by fear or love*, and could say, *'tis the Lord that doth it*, you might think he will continue them to us, or if he take them away, 'tis to give us better. If you did see *the heart of the King is in the hand of the Lord*, and 'tis by him, he yields to what he yields; you would rest in it, *That the same hand will cause him to do more*; or if you saw God hath taken the King into his power, and so the whole Nation; that God hath taken his great Reign, the power of God is come forth to sway the Scepter, then you would conclude, that Satan shall not mis-lead the King to be treacherous and false to us. But you behold things as they are in the wicked one; and there you finde nothing but *curses, fears, troubles*; and its best for you, that you might by that, be led to the Lord. But for the present you see things onely in a carnal eye, and not with a spiritual, and so with an evil eye, which is the reason you cannot see your rock, *the goodness of God*.

Secondly, You do declare, *by your fears, and expressly by words*, that those things that the *Parliament* now obtains of the King, in the way you behold them; That they are *forced things*, not *natural*, but *violent*, and so not *durable*; that they are *unjust and oppressing*, and so not *lasting*. For if you could look upon them as *natural*, or *right* and *just*, you had reason to think they were *lasting*; for God is the *protector* of *just things*; and *righteous things* are *eternal*; as far as they are *righteous*, and stand firm against all the powers of Hell; and if they were so in you and them, or as far as they are so, all things that appear against them, will be *dasht in peeces*, *Justice* being an invincible *Rock*: But you are extream sensible of their going back again to the KING from whence they came; and returning to their Originals.

If you did indeed believe, that the *original* of *power* were in the People, these grants would rest with you; and if there be any more behinde, you might be perswaded they would freely follow these you have already; for things naturally, or by the appoint-

ment of God, run to their *center*. But it seems you finde no peace in these, and complain of the danger you are in of losing of them, which shews those things have no good *bottom* or *foundation* in you: And know this, That these *violent courses* that you are upon, of *disclaiming and renouncing all dependance on the King, or accord with him, and an utter rejection, expulsion and deposure, either of his whole race, and all that claim it upon the same account of Right; or at least of his particular Person, and execution of justice upon him, Page* 28. will not secure what you have got, but rather it is the way to lose them, and set up *Princes* in a higher way then ever; for all things being by force, compelled from their nature, that force being removed, they return with the greater earnestness: and nothing that is *violent*, can be perpetual: Besides, *He that will save his life, shall lose it*; especially when it is going, and men use wicked wayes to uphold their tottering state, then it goes, as we say, *With a vengeance*; and that is your condition: God sayes, in your hearts and consciences, your standing is corrupt and ungodly, and he hath a quarrel against it, and it must fall. The rumor of your fall (in respect of your *present greatness*) sounds in your bosomes, and it is that which puts you upon these courses to save your selves, which will hasten your fall.

Thirdly, Your deep sense that you have of the Kings *recovering what he hath lost, of his getting into his seat and throne again, and of the disposition of the generality of people, to help him to his beloved dignity*. Whence you make such total conclusions, *not onely of probabilities of danger, but certain insecurity, and perpetual prejudice to publike interest, supposed the best constitutions and strictest laws imaginable, &c. Page* 47. These things do declare, that these Concessions are not long lived, and do prophesie the restitution of the King to His ancient Rights, and give a clear testimony to the immortality and stability of Kinglines.

You see that the King hath a will to redeem his present loss; you may see it in your own hearts, that every man hath a lust after power and authority; and you have seen it in his constant carriage: For my part, I condemn his unlawful seeking of it, and any falshood in it; but if he should not endeavor, the maintaining and restoring of the dignity of Kings, He were false to his trust, and the Glory and Majestie of GOD that he is intrusted with: And therefore

that

that desire of recovering his loss, is justifiable in him; yea, I should condemn him as unbelieving and weak spirited, if he should not hope for it, and constantly aym at it: But here's his misery, and yours for the present, that you are not acquainted with that fulness of power that is in God to dispense, and that wisdom whereby it shall be disposed; so that he shall have as much and more then ever he had, and you all, and more then you desire; and that way will be shewed him to confirm what you aske of him, and give you more, and yet continue his own Royalty in the greatest absoluteness and perfection: And for want of this, you are tugging and pulling the KINGDOME in pieces to satisfie your selves with dominion; whereas, if you were in a right understanding of things, there is enough in GOD, in the Nation, to satisfie all desires, and largeness enough for all to have what they would, without entrenching one upon another, or maligning one another. If he desire it in a carnal and wicked way, he shall never have it; if he commit it to the Lord, and expect it from him, he shall have it, and that will be his and our mercy.

'Tis granted then, that he hath a mind to recover, and that this is according to his principle, and may be managed rightly, and not to the prejudice of the PARLIAMENT, or his opposers: And that he shall rise, yea, is now great, your REMOSTRANCE feels to it. You condemne the PARLIAMENT for owning him so far, as to seeke to him by a Treaty; and you, by taking such paines to arme your selves against him, make it manifest, he hath a great power; which is a wonder, that a Prince, spoiled of all his authority, naked, a prisoner, destitute of all Friends and Helps, wholly at the dispose of others, tyed and bound with all obligations that a PARLIAMENT can imagine to hold him, should yet be such a terrour to you, and fright you into such a large *Remonstrance*, and such perilous proceedings as you are upon to save your selves from him, that is now a worm; either you are full of fear, that are so affected with a shadow, or else there is some strange power in him.

As you give testimony to his power, so you take a course to advance it; for there is nothing that hath any sparke of God in it, but the more it is suppressed, the more it rises; afflictions being always great improvements to good things, which shine most when they are tryed.

You speak of his Reputation, *page* 36. The more you crush him

him, the sweeter savour comes from him; and while he suffers, the Spirit of God and Glory rests upon him: There is a secret glory sparkling in him by suffering, though you see it not: You do but rend away his corruptions from him, and help to waste his drosse, and draw forth that hidden excellency that is in him; and naturally men are ready to pity sufferers. When nothing will gain me, affection will; I confess his sufferings make me a Royalist, that never cared for him: He that doth and can suffer shall have my heart; you had it, while you suffered; now you are great, and need it not: the poor, suffering, oppressed King and his party shall have my compassion; your severe punishing him for his weakness in Government, and great abuse of Government your selves, will beget in people an high account of the King, and provoke them to greater rage against you; and therefore you are upon foolish ways; while you are seeking to prevent these evils, you are running further into them; you are raising more evils against your selves, not allaying of them: 'Tis the power of love binders men from hurting you; Cruelty inrages men, and will turn men into Devils against you.

Fourthly, Your speech shews what's within, *Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh: A good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure of his heart, bringeth forth evil things*: no man can speak any thing but himself. 'Tis our happiness to live to see the hearts of men clearly brought forth.

You tell us of the King, how probable, yea demonstrable 'tis, that he will cast off *these verbal and littoral confessions and concessions, and that his yielding for the present is but upon design to obtain the Throne, but when he hath it, he'l quickly break, and have colourable grounds for it*: Which doth but tell us what you would do, or what is in your hearts to do: It seems you are able to teach the King deceit, and to shew him a way to escape out of all engagements: *Charity thinketh no evil*, because it thinks nothing but God; *it hopes all things, believes all things*, because it sees God at the bottom of all things: But you hope for nothing but deceit, falshood and treachery, *wise to do evill, but to do good no knowledge*: You speak evil, but cannot speak good; Curse you do, but bless not; you never speak any good of the King, or any, but in scorn; and so you mention the King (Good man) So *large* and *cunning* in discovery of *ill*, and void of *good*, shews you empty of one, and full of the other.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, You expreſs a multitude of dangers ready to come upon us by this Treaty; from the King His *reputation*, *party* their *multitude*, their *activity*, their *greatneſs*; from *abroad*, from *home*, *from the Parliament their diviſions*, *their burdening the people with taxes*, *from the force that is upon the King*, *&c. Fear hath taken hold of you*, it encompaſſes you about on every ſide; Like *Cain*, that ſays, *Every one that meeteth me*, *will kill me*; you know no ſafety: Can this be a way of God? Doth not *God eſtabliſh our goings*, *and ſet our feet upon a rock*, and make us able to *lye down and ſleep in a wilderneſs*, and not be afraid? We know none can hurt us, having *Salvation for walls and bulwarks*, and can and do live in the face of Hell, Death, Devils, and not be diſturbed; yea, ſeek no other protection, then the arm of God. They *are the ſinners in Sion that are afraid*: We that are the people of God, dwell in that Mountain where there is no hurtful thing: *Our City gates ſtand open night and day*, and we fear no ſurprizes, no deſignes can betray us; we are not troubled to ſhut our gates to keep out death, *evil flies from us*; we need no black deſignes againſt our enemies, to ſave our ſelves; we do declare againſt all that walk in a way contrary to this, *That their wiſdom is not from above*, *not pure*, *ſo not peaceable*, *but is earthly*, *carnal*, *ſenſual and diviliſh*. In this perplexed ſtate you are in, is ſeen your judgment is begun; you have left God, and he hath left you to theſe tormenting fears: this is the wrath that was threatned upon you; you are ſeeking ſelf-ſafety, 'tis your buſineſs; therefore you uphold your Army, to preſerve the lives of the godly party, and ſafety flies from you. God looks every way upon you with ſadneſs and wrath; 'tis your wickedneſs to think of, or ſpeak of ſafety in a worldly ſtate: You have been taught otherwiſe, and know, you ſhall never have it; you think you may uſe the means, no, all means are wicked that have an end contrary to the revealed Will of God; and this hath been told your hearts, that there's no peace but in God. This a general diſtemper, and that which your friends are guilty of extreamly, but *'Tis the ſpirit of bondage to fear*, *and not of love and of a ſound minde*. This Paſſion ſets you on work, and therefore your buſineſs muſt needs be baſe and vile; to act for ones ſelf in any kinde, is evil and un-chriſtian; but to act for ſelf-ſafety, is ſo mean and poor a thing, as it muſt needs produce moſt vile and abſurd actions: It is of all affections, the unworthieſt; a deep pit, and cauſes black, horrid and foul things. I'll ſhew you a little, that reſt and peace which we enjoy; that ſecurity

which

which you have turned your backs upon, in refusing the Lord, and for want of it are groping in these darke wayes of yours.

First I fear no party nor interest because I love all, I am reconciled to all, and all is reconciled to me; I have enmity to none but the *son of perdition*; I oppose nothing but destruction, and therfore nothing oppoſes me: 'Tis enmity begets insecurity, and while men live in the flesh, and in enmity to any party of interest, in a private, divided and selfe good, there will be perpetuall wars and strife; expect that particular should quite ruine all other parts, and live alone, which the universall must not, will not suffer, for the admitting a part to eate up and devoure others, were to destroy the whole, which is God; and such a minde in any part doth not onely fight with another Part, but against the whole; and so every faction of men striving to make themseves absolute, do directly warre against God, who is love, peace, and a generall good, gives being to all, and cherishes all; and therefore in such opposition of fellow-members, and of God, the God of peace, and union, there can be no peace nor security: But we being enlarged into the largeness of God, and comprehending all things in our bosomes by the divine spirit, are at rest with all, and delight in all, for we know nothing but what's in our hearts, Kings, Nobles are much beloved because they are in us, of us, one with us, we being Kings and Lords by the anointed of God.

Secondly, *We inherit all things, having overcome*; we are free the Sons of God, and all things are given unto us, are our owne for our use: the greatest as well as the least; and therefore feare nothing, being Lords of all: To be in a state apprehensive of danger is to be a servant; and while servants are quarrelling one with another, beating one another, their Lord is absent, and they are in danger one of another.

This is the condition of all the world, and of you in the Army, and therefore are farre from Lordship, true Spirituall reigning; yea, hell, death, destruction it selfe is ours, and doth us service: *In our great houses there are vessels of honour and of dishonour*, both usefull and profitable; Captivity is become our captive; death is become life; confusion hath its beauty, they are all excellent, as we in our house dispose of them and enjoy them; our

interest is publique, extends to all, and all are our interest.

Thirdly, *We live in league, peace is in our walls, and plenty in our palaces*; that word is performed to us, *They shall see evill no more*; we know no evill in our *Paradise*, not eating of the *forbidden fruit*; all is good in all we see a smiling bright sweet face of Majesty. We live upon Mount *Zion*, and it is large enough to receive our soules, bodies, estates, lives, families, all is taken within the gates of the Holy City, and this City reaches over all the earth: Here we enjoy all things, all persons, all actions, we never go out of it, but live in the peace and safety of it continually; And here there is *no more curse, nor death, sorrow and sighing flee from us, God wipes all teares from our eyes*, and enjoying this and all in this, in truth and power; we need no defence, no safety but our own rock, *Our house which is from heaven*.

Fourthly, I feare nothing in the world, because *Greater is he that is in us, then he that is in the world*. *I have overcome the world, it is at my feet, I trample upon it*; If you find any world in me you shall do me right to afflict it, break it; Let it suffer, 'tis righteous it should. I would have no worldly thing, that lives out of God have rest, it's against my life and principle; and by this I do overcome it, and shall never be troubled for the losse of it; for I would have no inheritance, no life or being but in the eternall world: the world I know, its a poore shadow, a fading thing, and is only terrible in the dark, there's nothing in it, but it is more excellently and mightily in us in God; Men, Kings, Emperors, as they are in an earthly state, we know they are wormes that shall die, mortals, and trouble they may themselves not us. They are not worthy of a caution to them that live above them, or take heed: Have they power? so have we everlasting power, and either theirs is one with ours, or infinitly short of it; you shew your selves weak and under them when you feare them. Have they policy, wisdom, we have treasures; either theirs is ours, or els we can make fooles of them; if they act not in our light, we are, and can, when we will, go beyond them; they are silly men that fear nothing, narrow pated men, that cannot secure themselves from policy: Have they multitudes, a large and numerous party; we have more, and they can have none but ours, all are ours, we have *Legions, ten thousands and times ten thousands*: *They that are with us are more then they that are against us*, yea, all are for us, if they knew us, and what they would have, we having with us the *desire of all nations*: Would they,

have

have a King, they are in the dark, but we know they truly can define none but our King, &c. and if you doubt and fear, you are solitary and alone, a widow, not married to God and his innumerable hosts: Of all things we would not fear men, because they are wicked, false, breakers of Covenant, perfidious, &c. This is *to set up wickedness by a law*; to accuse God, that the wicked go unpunished, that 'tis in vain to serve him, that he is not just, 'tis to offer the highest honor to the basest creatures, men in wickedness; We know they work in that fire that will destroy them: if men be evill, they can't hurt me but as they hurt themselves; they are hastening to their own destruction, they carry their ruine with them; besides, we know such men are in hell, and there chaine them: though Kings, we can, by the power of God, binde them in chains of iron: have power to bind the devill, and cast him into the bottomlesse pit: We assure you, that the devill shall not appear in any form or persons, be they never so great, never so gifted, never so glorious in religion or power, be it in you or any other, but we will deal with him, cast loads of wrath upon him, and fill him with torment; cast him from his heaven of outward religion or power, and secure him within his own bounds, that he shall no longer destroy the earth: We do and will dissolve his works, be they never so wisely contrived, *Set our feet upon him, and tread upon this Lion and Adder*, and he shall not hurt us.

Therefore you, while you tell us of our *great fears*, and demonstrate *certain insecurity*, and travel to bring forth your sense of danger, you and the godly party are in; you think you are wise men, must act as rational men for your safety, and judge us fools, mad men, that if you would do as we, the whole Christian cause would fall to the ground, and all will be lost. We will lay this upon you, *Rev.* 21. 8. *The fearfull and unbelieving &c. have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death*: you are in a lake of fire, *work in the fire*, and *this is of the Lord*, it is the just judgement of God upon you; not of men, but of and by the Lord; you are beyond the reach of men, but are reserved to be punisht, from the presence of the Lord. *This is your second death*; you were dead in sinnes, are quickned by repentance, but are gone back; the life of grace and Religion is dead in you, and you that escaped the first, are fallen into a second death: But one word more answering to this, *Revelations* 22. 15. *Without are dogges*: you are acting all along *without the City*: yea,

professedly setting up a power that is in the world at distance from and out of God; which you call *highest power on earth, created, standing power on earth*; and for *that power that divinity hath design'd*, you laugh at it; & you know your *whole trade is now* driven in the world as distinct from heavenly things, though you would cover it too with a sheepskin, and cry 'tis the Lord, the Lord with us: but you are cast out, and gone out, and live out of the blessed and glorious presence of God, and so are *dogs*, rated by God into a filthy kennell of base things; and are fearfull as *dogs*: God hath beaten you by the King, & kept you under, & you are fearfull of the same hand still, & think 'twil be worse yet, we shall suffer again; and that sets you a barking out your wrathfull angry and feirce stuffe. If you were with your Father in his presence as Sonnes, these clamours would cease, and you would be above all, and do good to all, and blesse all as your Father doth.

This is a main ground-work of your whole busines; that law of nature which teaches men to save themselves, and therefore we have taken the more paines to discover the rottennesse of it, and how you decline God and grace to flye to depraved and corrupt nature to be your guide and God; and to the poor and basest principle of nature, self-preservation, which must lead to the unworthiest things; and for professed Christians to act so low, is great wickednesse and a curse.

You do in this discourse meet with two objections.

First, your own former declaring for the King, which seems a little to trouble you; but with some difficulty scramble over it; and I think in that spirit that you are in will stand at nothing: we will only say this, that by breaking those Proposalls, you justifie all the breach of promise in the King or any others, and do, not only *break the command, but teach men to do so*; for upon the principles of your apology for your selves, every man is free from al ingagements whatsoever.

As first, you say, *pag.* 43. concerning your complyance with the King, *Partly necessitating us for the present prevention of that mischief to the publike, they were running into in that kinde as we apprehended: we were drawn into &c.* if man for *necessity*, and to avoid *publike danger*, say a thing though he performe it not, there is no great evill in it.

Secondly, That *moderation was but Hypothetical*; That is no

no ſuch engagements are abſolute, but conditionall, nor to be obſerved, but ſaving the Publick intereſt: Now we being judges of what is ſafe for the publique incereſt, can deliver our ſelves when we pleaſe; which is the *Phariſees law, If a man ſay it is Corban, its a gift, ſhall be free.*

Thirdly, *We aimd not at the ſtrenthening our ſelves to the ruin of any perſons, but to prevent, &c.* So that there be honeſt intentions, we may ſtep over theſe outward bonds; and wiſely to prevent miſchief, break all relations, trample upon all authority. And afterward you repent, and ſay, *T was errour, frailty, unbelief, and carnall counſels*, pag. 44. And pag. 52. you fall upon it again, and there you ſay were led to it by the Parliaments courſe: and now God hath opened your eyes, *and let you ſee beyond what you did before.*

How excellently doe you teach men to goe from what they have ſaid; if they ſee further and can repent it, they are free: See how abhominable religion is when once corrupted: There's no kinde of men can be ſuch compleat and new knaves, as a Jeſuite, a Phariſee, an old well ſtudied profeſſour of Religion; when once mens conſciences are defiled, and they being to trade in the world, with a pretence that 'tis for God, they are ſo cunning, that no bonds of honeſty or faith can poſſibly hold them.

This buſineſſe of your repentings concerning your former compliance with the King, is a great ſtrength to you, and you much build upon it: You have ſeen your ſinne, you ſay, and been humbled for it, and ſought God, and are clean from it, you have been troubled, but now are at peace: Alas poor men! *A deceived heart hath turned you aſide, and you ſee not the lye in your hand; This your Righteouſneſſe is a broken bow that ſtarts aſide; A broken reed, that while you lean upon it, will peirce your hand.* To ſhame you for the iniquity of holy things, and ſhew the abhomination even of your Reformation, Know this from him who knowes your wayes and hearts.

Firſt, That it was not your ſinne to carry out principles of *tenderneſſe and goodneſſe* to all, and of fair and gentle dealing towards enemies, as you formerly did in your propoſals: but to doe this falſly and hypocritically, to take theſe *Lambe-like* propoſals to cover a *Ravening Wolfe*; or to aſſume them, not out of love to them, but to gaine reputation; or to gull and cheate a party into a quiet waiting upon you for deliverance, till

upon had gained your end, and then deceive them, and wholly relinquish them, this is your sinne; And this you were by me admonished of concerning the King, that if you did looke towards him, you should nakedly and freely discover your hearts and bosomes to him; if he did so close with you, it might be wel; but that you should not (as you did) in distrust of God, saifly, without judgment accept of him and agree with him, that was declared to you to be evill, and a *doubting with unprepared mortar*.

Secondly, In your turning now you turn not to God; God saies to you, *You do not as all flesh so me, but you are in empty vine bringing forth fruit to your selves*: For this present expedition, though you are blinde and see it not, is meerly for, and to your selves; And there are in you the same wickednesse that was in the former, and worse; *frailty* is now malice; *unbeliefe* turned to self-confidence; *carnall counsell* into devilish councell: There is nothing more of the glory of God in you now, but lesse; yea, *That which you seem'd then to have is taken from you*; your wisdome, mercy, moderation, &c. So you turne not from the iniquity of your way; not from this in hypocrisy, to this in truth, in righteousnesse; but from a vaine propofall of good to acting evill, you turne indeed, but to *Egypt*, you are gone from good in shew, to evill in substance.

Thirdly, The root of this work you have in hand is a sense of the losse of Gods favour: you have felt Gods frownes upon you, and that hath put you upon this work, to recover your lost splendour, and to make satisfaction.

This is a miserable, dark principle, and begets very wicked practises: in a sense of the wrath of God to seek for means to expiate his displeasure: *Esaus* teares, *Sauls* sacrificing, *Israels* offering up *the first born of their bodies for the sinne of their soules*: Poore blinded men! when they seek to satisfie God, run more in wickednesse against him: he that goeth upon such grounds to satisfie an angry God, and to quiet a fearfull and guilty conscience, will alwaies be bloody and cruell, and are thrust on commonly to some eminent folly, some notorious and absurd wickednesse, and so are you, not being established in the love of God, nor walking in a *paine path of righteousnesse*, but blinded in wrath, are hurried from one extream to another: This cursed giddinesse of flesh to doe evill, and think they do *God good service*, is the fruit of apostacy, and *quenching the Spirit of God*, to be so left to your selves, that which way soever you goe, you commit iniquity, and not able to know or practise the truth:

truth; you are in this the greatest examples of divine justice that this age hath brought forth.

The second thing that lies in the way, is the *Covenant*, which *obliges to the preservation of the Kings person and authority, pag.* 54. but not so strongly, but *the snare is broken, and you have an honest way to escape*; Many things you bring to quit your selves from it; that clause, *In the preservation of the true Religion and liberty of the Kingdome, pag.* 55. *If it have an evill sense it calls for repentance, pag.* 57. This however will never faile, repentance knowes how to wash away any Covenant. Then you plead, 'twas 'twixt *man and man*, and would exclude the King, *as not present or consenting, pag.* 58. and after would exclude God from being any thing but *a witnesse, pag.* 59. You would have God have as little interest in it as you can: 'Tis a very ill temper of mind that lessens the interest of God in our affaires: Its an ill tongue that is an orator for man, and denies God; that saies God *is but there*: 'Tis no dishonour to the King to be left out, where God is not admitted to be a party, onely a looker on: But God saies, *what you did to one of these little ones, you did to me*: You vowed to me in the King, though a little one, imprisoned, sick, naked; yet your oath is to me.

God saies, I put in the preservation of the Kings life and authority into the Covenant, into all your oaths and protestations, on purpose to save him after all his sufferings for sin: And obsservance is due to me; I was in that Covenant, and will punish the breakers: Where are you now?

Concerning your breaking this Covenant in a thing so expresse, so agreeable to all the Parliaments Declarations and Remonstrances, we will lay downe these three considerations.

First, That Oaths and Covenants, the maine pillars of humane society, the greatest determiners of controversies, the chiefe part of divine worship, is, in this age most commonly violated, and impudently prophane: O Noble world! what will you do? Thy great security from danger, Oaths, thy Physician that hath cured thy breaches often, and healed distempers, is become ineffectuall: There is such wicke deceit amongst us, and that creeps into the best of men, and under such pretences of piety to God, that no Covenantes will hold them. Certainly if God doth not manifest *a new and everlasting Covenant* to compose and bind us together, we shall live in a wilderness of horrid confusion.

Secondly, That these are the last and perilous times spoken of;

2 *Tim.* 3.1. &c. And that you amongst others, are the people there spoken of, *Lovers of themselves*; That's your *fundamental Law, self-preservation*, and the ground of your present actings, to intrude your selves into the worlds greatnesse, out of a high opinion of your own deserts, thinking your selves onely wise, just, holy, honourable, &c.

I could shew you the other particulars, and may in time apply the Text to you, if you repent not; but for the present occasion, 'tis said, there they shal be *Truce-breakers*, ἄσπονδοι, against reccommodation, no treaty, no agreement: Or breakers of Covenant, and then it followes, Διάβολοι, *Accusers*, and at this you are exquisite.

Thirdly, That Covenants being the strength of humane societies, and so great bulwarks of the world, degenerated or apostasied Religion is the great engine of Gods wrath appointed to breake them downe: solemne Oaths and Covenants are able to hold most mens consciences, but men heightned by Religion into the forms of the spirit, doing things by immediate direction from God, carrying a glorious presence of God before them, affirming that they are called by God to do some speciall works in the world: these can easily mount above the highest sorts of Oaths, and trample them under foot presently: Men that have tasted of these high things, and begin to make them serviceable to worldly ends, they are such cunning pick-locks, that they can finde a way through all doors to come to the treasures of power and authority: A people that have had a savour of heavenly things in a fleshly way: turne them loose into the world, and they'l teare it up by the roots; they are wheted for destruction; such as are spoken of, *Ezek.* 21.31. *Brutish men, skilfull to destroy*: Such wicked spirits are now abroad, that are *brutish*, spare not the holiest nor honourablest things: Kings, Lords, Ministers, Scriptures, Ordinances, Oaths, Covenants lay all waste; and yet in the greatest brutishnesse, *skilfull*, though there be the most sensuall and beastly confusion, yet they shal do it artificially, *skilfully*, say 'tis for God, justice, religion, &c. and that they do it by the power of Christ, and the power of God, in religious zeale, &c. and so exact, that they will not be knowne from builders, restorers, reformers. But the holy, good, wise, mercifull spirit of the living God, the Father of mercies, will in his owne light condemn this *unclean spirit, and drive him out of the land.*

Having

Having *cleared your way to what you have to propose, you give in your apprehensions of the remedy, page 60.* your first is, *To lay aside this evil and dangerous Treaty*: This is a strange remedy against civil warres, to lay aside treating: then you require, *that the Kings demands be rejected, especially that of his restitution to* London; This is very terrible to you that the King should recover any strength; no, keep him downe as long as you can, let him not rise: how farre is this from the power of godlines, or acting in the power of God: a poor pusillanious, cowardly, worldly policy: you dare not thinke of the King getting any power, for then you know you durst not deale with him; not barely in the power of God: but he a prisoner and you free, having an Army at your command, you dare accuse him; if he were in power, you would shrinke out of the Kingdome, whereas if you lived in the power of God, you might trample upon Thrones; if he were wicked, pul him from his greatest glory, and binde him in chains.

Secondly, You would *have that bargaining proposition laid aside and would have all justice done immediatly, from the judiciall power of the Kingdome, the Parliament, and not by grant from the King*: you doe the King a courtesy in that: and this being done, *you wish moderation and mercy*; not as long as there be any apprehensions of fear: there's little mercy from fearfull enemies: mercy is in breasts that are strong and mighty. But *page 62.* you come to the marrow of the businesse, to propound high things that shall reach us *peace with God, and quiet among men*: There was never such a mocking of God since the world stood; for men, that have professed Christ our peace so long as you have done, should now fall from that attonement (which you only talked of, had not in power) to offer up to God the bloud of men, the bloud of men already in affliction, the bloud of their enemies, and that upon such principles, to secure themselves, to obtain and keep selfe advantages; 'tis such a sacrifice as was never yet by the darkest heathens invented: if you had covertly sought revenge from him, &c. you had had some equals and examples for your fact; but to doe the same thing (in feare and revenge to remove an adversary) and boldly impudently, to bring it to God as a sacrifice to appease his displeasure, and expiate sin, is an unparaleld wickednesse, and a project as foolishly contrived to quiet the people by taking away a Prince beloved of his people, indeer'd to them by his *sufferings*; whose government (though full of weaknes) was far better then those that succed *him*;

a Prince, strong in the affection of his Subjects, and forein alliance, and then when he is in a yeelding way to peace, to give satisfaction to his Subjects, yea, when he is upon an agreement, then to seeke the removal of him by death, or deposure, against the desires of the bodie of the Kingdome, and of their representatives in Parliament; upon the foul and black designs of a few unbelieving people, that this should be a way to quiet the Kingdome it's as far from policy as the other is from piety.

But to your Proposals; first, you propound, *That that capitall and grand author of our troubles, the Person of the King, may be brought to justice for the treason, blood, &c.* Two things we wil consider.

First, Your Justice.

Secondly, The person upon whom 'tis to be administred.

First, 'Tis not justice that you desire, it appears so to your blinde and deceived hearts; but in the face of God it appears farre otherwise: To tel you that justice must be done by law, and that no law takes hold of the King, will not convince you, though to others it wil manifest that you that pretend to contend for the Laws, are the greatest violaters of them. But the searcher of hearts will deale otherwise with you, and shew you what's within you, and discover the falshood and injustice of your spirits.

First, Know this (for you have felt it) that God hath a controversy with you: that though you have done many things for him, yet you are not perfect; but there is some wicked thing to be purged out of you, which is your glorying in that fleshly way in which you are. God hath called you out of it, and you have refused him, and sunke down deeper into it, blessing and strengthning your selves in it; being unwilling to strip your selves naked of those carnall helps and advantages that you were engaged to; or to suffer a losse of those glorious favours that you have received, that you might have better: but loving this *present evil world*, and despising the Spirit of God and refusing his safety alone, and to rest and live under his wings abhorring to cease acting in the flesh, and to be *perfected by sufferings*: You have, by this joyned your selves to the prince of darkness, departed from God to the God of this world, by which Satan hath betrayed you, spoyled all your glory; gotten those good things God gave you, into his possession, and imployes them against the Lord, and takes the poor people of God captive, to serve in the foule and base waies of the world; and the Lord now comes for justice against

this

this spirituall wickednesse in high places; you have dealt against small petty corruptions and have seen them executed; but now the devil hath corrupted all your gifts and graces, and spilt the blood of Christ, who was a babe in you, and brought great spirituall mischiefs upon you, death, wrath, trouble, absence of God, deprived you of your freedome with God, *&c.* now God cals for justice against this destroyer of such precious beginnings of godlinesse, and creates trouble in your spirit for want of it: but this cunning serpent beguiles you and sets up a shadow of an enemy a King without, as an object to your justice, to save himselfe and all his villany from the justice of God within: Poor beguild wretches, you are not yet acquainted with his wiles: you are turned out of the righteous way, and will never finde peace till you come to see all those evils in your selves in truth, which are in shew and shadow in the King; and when the sword of the Spirit which cuts inwardly, is turned against those enemies of God, you will doe justice indeed.

Secondly, This way of acting in you for justice, is great apostacy, for a company of men that have been led up into such high things of God, to live in God, and doe all things in the Spirit of God; now to fall down into the way of heathens; to lay the weight of their spirits upon so poor a thing as moral justice, and to daunce after the example, or take for their guide and rule the blinde actings of Gentiles that *lived in the world without God*, and onely sought an outward freedome: and to prostitute the Spirit of God to such common and prophane things, is exceeding unworthy of the profession of a Christian, and a going back from *Canaan* to *Ægypt*.

Thirdly, Your Justice is but a bare name, or a heathen covering, borrowed from men to hide your shame, your malice, unbeliefe, feare, and such like monstrous lusts, which you know you are not free from; and though you would not see, you shall see, and the world shall see too, that you are as other men are, and take up the lees and dregs of the world: cunning wayes to remove adversaries, to take away those that stand in your way; and paint them over with the names of justice, security to the publique interest, and so act them in the face of the Sunne. Take but this instance; hundreds of the Kings; ar[illegible], the basest and worst of them who have borne armes for the King,

are yet admitted into your Army, joyned with you in engagements; becauſe it is for your advantage, and the ſtrengthning your ſelves; to let goe the principall and puniſh inferiour inſtruments, ſay you, is not juſt: And ſo ſpare inferiours to ſerve us, and puniſh great ones to ſecure our ſelves from them, it is great injuſtice: It is an old deceit of juſtice to lay hold of ſmall offendours, and let goe the great ones, that is groſſe and common: but to accept the ſmall ones into alliance, favour & ſervice becauſe we want their bodies; and to ſeeke the ruine of great ones, becauſe we would have their honours, places and eſtates, is a new wickedneſſe, a path not trodden in before; high flying and gallant cruelty, ſpare Rogues, ſlaves to doe ſlaviſh worke, men of no couſcience, worth nor honeſty; and ſtrike at a Prince ſtanding for his intereſt engaged by conſcience and honour; this is your juſtice.

Now for the King, againſt whom you goe in full cry; I have this to ſay to check your violent courſe.

Firſt, That he had and hath a true lawfull Right in the Kingdome and to the Kingdome, and as good as any man hath to any thing he poſſeſſes; his Crown, Revenue, and Dignity is as righteouſly his birth-right and inheritance as a nothers houſe or land; and he that denies this is wilfully blinde.

As he hath a right to his Crown and Subjects, ſo it is his Peoples right to have a King; I confeſſe it my birth-right to have relation to a King, to live under a great MONARCH; and if I am denyed it, I am denyed my native right, and ſo my pleaſure of honouring and ſerving him, and receiving honour from him, and many and great profits comming by Him.

And he having a right to his Crown, and his People a right to him, it was as juſt for him and his party to ſtand for their right as for any other party to uphold theirs: It is true his intereſt, and Parliaments, and Peoples were all in the darke, and none could diſtinkly divide one from another, or clearly judge which is which; and ſo ordained by God for the fall of them as they ſtood in a worldly way: It is true the KING abuſed his intereſt and power, and in the exerciſe of it tranſgreſſed againſt GOD and his People. And it is as true, when the Parliament came to plead their right, they were to ſeeke, and did, incontending for it, ſinne againſt GOD and the King: So

that

that both have a right, both have ſome reaſon to contend for their right, but both have erred in maintaining their rights; And therefore the King is not free from ſinne alone, nor guilty alone, nor his party: The Parliament not free alone, nor guilty alone; but each ſide have ſome good and evil mingled together, you nor they perfectly righteous, all have tranſgreſſed and gone out of the way; and therefore tis pride and partiality in you to ſay he is guilty of all the bloud, rapine, &c. No, all are guilty; We muſt ſay, *There is none righteous no not one*: You may ſay, he was firſt guilty, or moſt guilty, becauſe he is firſt and greateſt, and ſo hath ſuffered firſt and moſt: but to clear your ſelves as pure onely, and condemn others as guilty only, is pride and uncharitableneſſe; and all proceedings upon this ground, are acts of hoſtility, and a continued proſecution of the old difference.

Thirdly, I ſay that the King in his preſent ſtate is more righteous then you; he now ſuffers and acts, and is in his preſent way the moſt righteous in the Kingdome.

Firſt, He hath confeſſed his errour, though you wickedly urge it againſt him; and though it be in weakneſſe, yet the Lord is tender of him in it: he hath expreſly owned his ſinne, and the Parliament implicitly in yielding to treat with him, and ſhewing a redineſſe to receive him to favour: Tis in their hearts how they were raſh, violent, and too captious and ready to take advantages againſt the King, being ſpurd on by ſome carnall and ſiniſter ends; and ſo far as they encline to acknowledge their errors, they are in away to pardone: only you juſtifie your ſelves as innocent, and ſo moſt or laſt guilty.

Secondly, He hath been in this Treaty in a ſelf-denying way, in a way of parting with his rights, though miſ-interpreted, being looked upon through enmity and jealoulies, and you and the Parliament are upon the gayning and ſecuring your ſelves: He is coming down, you and others are getting up: he is falling, you riſing: He is a ſufferer, you inflicters of ſufferings.

Thirdly, He owns a God in the world, and appeals to him: that principle that you diſdain ſo much, page 47. and elſe where, is more righteous then yours, which are ſeeking to ſet up a darke form of government without God; ſo juſt as not to need God; in which we may reſt, and never goe further to appeale to God. The King hath appealed to God, and it hath coſt him deare. God hath judged him for his ſinnes; and you ſay often in your Remon-

ſtrance, and tis a wonder to me that you ſhould ſleight that maxim of impunity from man, *and appealing to God*, when God is come forth ſo visibly as he is, to punish all ill government: Yea, that which you fly to your ſelves in your *ſecond Declaration*, and the Holy God is as righteous to you as to the King, to punish you in your kinde as him in his: And as it hath beene his fall, ſo it will be his and your riſing, ſticking faſt to your *appeale to God in diſtreſſe*, he will reſtore him and you.

A fourth is this, That the King in his offers of peace hath ſhewd a fatherly and large ſpirit, and endeavoured the comprehending of all intereſts; and you inſiſt only upon your own, and others, as relating to yours.

The fifth and laſt thing I have to ſay for the King, is that which I have already publiſhed, *That he is an Image of the glory of God the Father*, and choſen by the divine majeſty to bring forth it ſelfe: *A veſſel of honour*, pardoned, loved, and taken into union with God.

And tis not the leaſt aggravation of your ſinne that you goe on in your waies againſt him, after the divine Grace had ſo publiquely ownd him: And this you doe without any knowledge of the mind of God, or any ability to ſhew the evill & weakneſſe of that diſcovery; but in a rude and brutiſh purſuing of your owne ſenſe and experience: you are ſunke deepe into the earth, or elſe you would not ſay (after ſuch a manifeſt judgement given by God) as you doe, pag. 48. *If they claime by immediate, divine deſignation, let them ſhew it*, pag. 50. in a way of rejecting and denying at leaſt; *Which we are ſure can be no leſſe then ſomething of Divinity*: Indeed you cannot, nay will not ſee divine things amongſt men, elſe you would not now ſay, *Let them ſhew it*. But of all tis the greateſt wonder that you ſhould be ſuch oppoſers of *Divinity and divine deſignation*, who have profeſſed *God is in all*, there is nothing but God, and cry up the name of God ſo much to be in your owne darke and confuſed wayes, and will not acknowledge him in any thing that is honourable or excellent: And though your Remonſtrance be againſt this glory of God breaking forth in the King, your actions ſhall and doe promote it; and this may be your comfort, that theſe ſufferings will ſo refine and improve him, that he will appeare in that excellent ſpirit of love and goodneſſe, as ſhall freely forgive your violence againſt him, and rejoice in his ſufferings, being the certaine way to a true Throne of Glory. Thus I dare meet with al

your

your power, and Interpose betweene the edge of your inflamed wrath and the King; I value not what you can doe or say: If you say I am turnd Royalist, I am of a *Royall Seed, a Royall Priesthood*, and a lover of Royalty in the most High God, and no where else: If you say I doe it upon carnal grounds, you may say it, but shal not long thinke it, but wil wish your selves as free from worldly respects and selfe-seeking in acting against, as I am in appeating for the *King* ere long.

The three next things propounded are but the raveling out of the same principle; wherein you shew what a reach your great feares have, and how wary you are to fortifie your selves against all from whom there may be any appearance of danger; And so the *Kings Children* must suffer, *and a competent number of his cheefe Delinquents*. There is here nothing of a new principle, and therefore I omit it.

Your fift is, for satisfaction of Arrears: This is a main wheel, though it makes little noise here; For I believe, if you could get your Arrears, which are very considerable summes of money, and would helpe you to live conveniently, and could rationally and upon visible grounds promise your selves safety and a quiet life, you would be content to lay downe many of you and be quiet. This is good sober dealing, and you thinke it very justifiable, *For the Labourer is worthy of his hire*; And you know many of you, I thinke the greatest part of the body, would have left long agoe, if they had not hoped to recover some good part of their Arrears. But is this sutable to our profession when we undertooke this Warre? Did not we scorne a mercenary souldier, or souldier of fortune? And upon those termes have dealt with God and men; yet now the Kingdome must lye under misery till you have your arrears. I'le but say this to you, you are upon as good a way to pay or acquit your Arrears as the *Scots* were.

Your next thing propounded is concerning the Parliament, that it should have a *Certaine period, and so the great trust reposed in them may returne to the people, pag.* 65. This Parliament hath beene a pretty hackney for you, you can ride it as long as you will, and which way you wil, and then turne it up: Prescribe it what it shal doe, and how long: Wee see now your *tender regard to the priviledge of Parliament*: How pitifully you use this *Old Masse*, as you cal it, pag. 45. You *guard* it and regard it, mould and turne this masse til it be fit for your purpose; and when it hath dischrond the

the King and enthrond your government, you will releale them and ſend them packing; You are as the Sea, boundleſſe, let looſe from all ties and obligations of ſuperiours, and none can ſtand before you; You trample upon Parliament as well as upon King, impriſon him, and force theſe to doe your worke, and then a period.

At laſt you ſhew us the grounds that you would have the Kingdome ſettled upon, *page 66.* which I ſhall not much meddle with in particular: Only conſider,

Firſt, That you profeſſe your ſelves (and tis your property) to be appointed and called for breaking in peeces the powers of the world, and to be *as the potſheards of the earth, that daſh one againſt another*; and in this you are very skilfull and able: but what then have you to doe with ſetling? Tis not your trade; you were never cut out for it, nor bound prentiſe to it; and ſo it ſeemes by the ground you lay of common *right*; which are onely framed with reſpect to your own private intereſt, and have little *of right freedome* or common in them, only ſuch of *ſafety* for your ſelves, as you thinke: Why doe you diſſemble with men, holding forth a foundation to ſettle the Kingdome, when you know all things are unſetling, and for that you act.

Or if this be a ground laid for future ſettlement and ſafety, its a wofull *Babel*, an Idol, a lye, a vanity, a thing that cannot ſave: *Will this reach to Heaven*, or ſave you from the cloud of wrath that is broken out upon *you*? Tis an unprofitable, empty, deſolate thing, *A veſſell in which is no pleaſure*, neither inward nor outward; like the Image of *Dagon*, fallen and without his head: You would thinke it Apoſtacy for men to goe back to ten or twenty yeares ſince, but to pleade for an age before the conqueſt, and runne back to the moſt barbarous times, not onely from God to the glory of great ſtates, but to *Ægypts Garlick and Oynns*, to the dul, ſenſeleſſe people, and ſet them up as Idols to ſave you, and fall down before this wood and ſtone, as things of vaſt concernment: What a condition are you ſtrunke into? *Enſnared in wholes of Earth.* Here lies the glory of your Sainthip, of your Kingdome of *God*, or this is the end of all your carnall and fleſhly Religion: This is the heaven you ſettle in, the grounds of your peace; *The Lord marches thorow the land in indignation, and wounds the head of the houſe of the wicked, by diſcovering the foundations of the weake; Thou didſt ſtrike thorow with his ſtaves, the head of the villages; Thou haſt wounded the head, the*

glory of the Kingdome, and now thou strikest thorow the *head of villages, not onely destroy royall*, but *popular power*, and dost rip up the foundations, and shew the folly, rottennesse and ungodlinesse of the lowest stones as wel as of the highest; None shall escape thy Righteous judgements.

Your last thing propounded *is a contract or agreement*; a contract or bargaine, not a marriage, for there is no husband; *An agreement with death*, no life, no God; no, wee have enough of them; Alas, they are poore things, they will not hold a quarter of a year; a cobling device: Let us have a Saviour that can defend himselfe, and needs not to be tied together, and *holds fast* by an agreement or contract: this is a poore God; an old Canonical trick, subscriptions; Conformity for State as wel as for Church; *That none be capable of any benefit by it but such as subscribe*; *None beare any office in place of publique trust*; *nor King except he subscribe*; This is *publique liberty and common right*: There was never grosser tyranny ever appeard in the world: This I am very sure, the last and worst piece of folly (in this kinde) that ever was brought forth; And after the calling off al powers, breaking al Covenants, this comes in as a crowne of the worke, *a great chaine of darknesse*, to binde us to the earth for ever; a great hog, in which we may lye fast: Where is that liberty of the spirit, that glory of God that should make men confesse God *is in you of a truth*? This *is your binding Kings in chaines of Iron*: Did ever men fall from praying for, professing of, preaching of, aiming at the *last and great glory of God*, as you do to such a beggarly rudiment, as agreement with the people, subscription upon penalty? Your condition is well expressed, *Isa.* 65. 5. Which say, *Stand by thy selfe, come not neare me, for I am holier then thou*. You say to the King, Bishops and Presbyters, stand by, thrust them away, and their oaths, conformities, covenants; stand by al you Ecclesiastical subscriptions, we wil have a civill one: You required some, we wil have al subscribe. We are the most Righteous that have come yet, none before us did such things as we; *And yet*, saith the Text, *Which lye among the graves*: You lye downe in the rotten Sepulchres of the Bishops, their wales are dead and putrified, and you goe downe into them, and defile your selves with them, *And lodge in the monuments*: You have striven long for reformation, and for the Kingdome of God, but at last wildred and sighted, you take up your rest and lodging amongst the dried bones of your dead ancestors, would have your selves by oaths, subscriptions, &c. which are the great signes of the uncertainty

and mortality of Saints; when they finde they begin to dye, they set up their memories on these monuments of Covenants and Subscriptions: And *eate swines flesh*; that's another evil; You live upon that beast, a swine that loves digging and rooting in the earth: You are not content with what the earth, by the favour of heaven, sends forth, but are digging into, and turning up the bowels of the Kingdome to satisfie your swinish appetites: Or love to wallow in mire, and to lye upon the dunghil of the Kingdomes confusions, and take pleasure in it: *And broth of abominable things*; you abhominate tyranny, compulsion, enforcing in others, to impose and advance their owne interest; but refusing to doe the thing it selfe, you eate *the broth*, doe the same thing in a looser, weaker, baser and more servile way.

You are the lees and dregs of the world, the taile of it; you thinke you are the best, but are the worst; for the world growes worse and worse, and the deeper you goe into it, the further you are from God, and the neerer to hel, to confusion; for the world hath its foundations in the deeps: Tis a fond conceit arising from the grossest ignorance and self-love, to thinke that you are better then others, al your wales being more absurd, violent, irrationall, then the worst of those that have gone before you: You may reade your description excellently penned long ago, 1 *Tim.* 4. 1, &c. *Now the spirit speaketh expressly*; *He speakes* to whom all times are *now*, who sees all things present; *He speakes* truth, things are because he *speakes* them: Therefore doth your glory fade away, *Because the spirit of the Lord hath blowne upon it, and he speakes expressly*. There's nothing the Lord brings forth more exactly, fully, and clearly, then the apostacy of carnal professours; a worke wherein he delights to be compleat, and to doe it to the life; to fil religious flesh, kicking against him, with absurd folly, and grosse wickednesse: *In the latter times*, which are these daies, when time growes low, tis the worst: That time wherein we are looking for the greatest good, then appeares the greatest evill.

And that in Apostates, *Some shall depart from the faith*; the spirit saies now expressly you are these some; you have departed from the faith.

First, From the doctrine of faith, expressed in the last verse of the former Chapter, and in the 6. v. of this Chapter, *In the words of faith and good doctrine*: The most forward of you in religion doe depart from the chiefe and maine doctrines of Christ, and neither doe nor can hold forth those mysteries, *God manifest in the flesh*, &c.

&c. And from al rule of faith you doe depart by profession and practise: to speak to you concerning those commands of subjection to Kings, Superiours, &c. is literal, legal, you have a spirit above those commands, and those concerning the worship of God, you are above Ordinances, &c. and so falling into a state of liberty and loosnesse from al lawes.

Secondly, You have departed from what you have believed, which was the *Kingdome of Christ*, purity of religion, &c. into leveling, irreligious, worldly principles, *giving heed to seducing spirits*: you talke of the Spirit, but are led by an *unclean spirit*, a *false spirit*, or *an erring and seducing spirit*; the devil and your owne lusts have carried you away from the way of Christ, which is by the Crosse, to ascend to glory, by suffering to reigning; but that way you decline and fall upon worldly contests for worldly things: I wonder at your grosse deceit, *deceiving and being deceived* (did I not know your hearts *are made grosse and fat, that you are given up to strong delusions, to believe a lye*) that you should pretend to be led by God in your waies, and that he goes before you, and yet are in such darknesse (as your selves professe) you see not a foot before you; but attend every day for new leadings, new discoveries of the minde of God: into what a miserable labyrinth hath the devil led you! to goe blindly and confidently after your owne imaginations which are confused, darke, and uncertain, and cause you to attend to those motions and actings, and tell you 'tis the Spirit of the Lord. No no, The Spirit of God is light, clearnesse, stability; 'tis that *Anointing whereby we know all things, from first to last*, he *leads us in plain paths*; in waies of order, peace, goodnesse: I abhorre that that blind mole, that bat, that dusky night-owle, that halting, blind thing which you follow, should be cald by the name of God or the spirit of God; *Doctrines of Devils*, of wrath, malice, accusations, disorders, confusions, destructions, or as *Mead* interprets δαιμονίων, of earthly, humane, petty Gods or Saints; such are your Gods humane, earthly, weake Gods, that have no glory, majesty nor excellency in them.

Vers. 2. *Speaking lyes in hypocrisie*; Your justice, publique interest, common right are al lyes; and so are *all men*, and things of *men* but *a lye*; and *you speake them in hypocrisie*, cunningly, to deceive and seeke your selves, and your owne interest, *Having their conscience seared with a hot iron*: God hath set some brands and marks of favour upon you, given you some victories and successe, to insnare your proud hearts, to fat up the flesh for its destruction: This, and your

fiery zeale for *justice, for common good*, which is a base mettal, at best *iron* (made to breake things in pieces) but these, as *a hot iron*, doe so hisse in your mindes, and smoke in your eyes, that you cannot heare the voice of God, nor see his waies; you are so obdurate upon these things, *Gods glorious presence with you, the wonders he hath done by you*: (things common to *Alexander, Cæsar*, and many Heathens more in a greater way then ever you had them) that you think it impiety, malignancy, &c. once to question your way.

All the rest concernes you, *Forbidding to marry*, you forbid heaven and earth to marry; forbid King and people to marry; and the same spirit goes so farre in some, as to deny marriage, and to maintaine a community amongst men and women, because *In the resurrection there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage*. *To abstaine from meats*; Many things you would have men abstain from, Kings, Lords, Tithes, and many other *good creatures of God*, that your stomack cannot digest, and you forbid others the use of them, because you are not *sanctified*, neither doe you see them *sanctified* by the eternall *word and prayer*.

You are drawing towards an end, and here I shall joine issue with you, pag. 69. *That since the heart of man is deceitfull and corrupt above all things, and most apt to answerable counsels and actings where it can hope to walk in the dark, undiscernd and undistinguisht*: therefore you desire *liberty of entring dissents*: Upon this ground doe I desire liberty to enter my dissent from you, and upon what followes in your words, *In these transactions of such high moment to the publique and all honest interests, and in times so apt to decett, defection and apostacy*. With you, pag. 70. I professe, *That as the exigence of the case, and nature of the busnesse requires (being of such vast importance to all publique, religious and honest interest, not in this Kingdom only, but in neighbour nations) I have dealt with all plainnes and clearnes, as God hath enabled me. And now to conclude, we hope that in an age of so much light, meer wil and resolution wil not be held forth and pursued against it: But that what reason and righteousnes there is in the things we have said, wil be considered and followed*. Tis my request to you in your own words, & that you would not in prejudice or disdain lay these things aside; but that you would, setting aside your present actings of lesse importance far, yea, of certain danger & ruin to your selvs and others, you would consider what I have here proposed in love to you, *& for your good & safety, & the peace of the Kingdom*.

He that being often reproved hardneth his necke, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy.

FINIS.